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EDITED

BY

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318

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No. 1. PANĀKAḌUVA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF VIJAYABĀHU I

By S. Paranavitana

THE charter which forms the subject of this paper is inscribed on three plates of copper discovered, in or about February, 1948, by a farmer in a field called Bōgahadeṇiya in the village of Panākaḍuva of the Moravak Kōrale in the Mātara District. The plates have been acquired by the Archaeological Department, and are now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura [1].

Each of the plates, measuring 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length and 3 in. in breadth, is provided with two holes on a line which would bisect the plate horizontally into two equal halves, and are 4·1 in. from the vertical edges. These holes resemble similar features on leaves of ola books, and must have served the same purpose, i.e., of passing a string through to bind the three plates together. The average thickness of the plates is $\frac{1}{16}$ in.; together they weigh 2 lb. $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner sides only, while the second has writing on both sides. The lines of writing are of uniform length, which is almost the same as the length of the plate itself, for there is hardly any margin on the sides. There are seven lines of writing on each side, the last line of the last plate being of the same length as the others. The letters, boldly and clearly engraved, range in height between $\frac{3}{16}$ in. and $\frac{7}{16}$ in., those of the last line on the third plate being smaller than the average, and crowded together withal, due to the necessity of completing the document on that side. The writing has been carefully executed, but not without giving rise to two or three clerical errors.

The record, as will be shown later, is of the last quarter of the eleventh century; as such it comes almost half-way in **date** between the "Vessagiri" slab-inscription of Mahinda IV [2] and the Gal-vihāra rock-inscription of Parākramabāhu I [3]. The **script** of our copper-plates, therefore, exhibits a stage of evolution between the scripts of these two inscriptions. Many of the letters, for example, *pa*, *ta*, *ra* and *ba*, are almost identical in form in all these three records. Compared with the forms in the tenth-century

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[1] *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1949, pp. 28–32.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, plate 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, plate 36.

record, certain letters, like *sa*, in our inscription, have had their sharp angles rounded. In this respect, the script of the document under consideration resembles that in the Gal-vihāra rock-inscription, while certain other letters in it do not show the changes that the twelfth-century epigraph exhibits. In the letter *na* of our document, for example, the loop is not so developed as in that letter appearing in the Gal-vihāra inscription. Making due allowance for the difference of material in which the writing has been executed, the script represented in our document can be declared to be the same as that in the inscription of Sundara Mahādevī from Dim̆bulāgala [1], which is later in date by about half a century. On the other hand, the Am̆bagamuva rock-inscription, which is ten years later in date than our document, exhibits forms of letters which are relatively more archaic. In fact, some of the letters in the Am̆bagamuva inscription exhibit forms which were obsolete in the records of the tenth century. The same preference for archaic forms will also be noticed if the script of the rock-inscription of Parākramabāhu I at Devanagala be compared with that of the Gal-vihāra record of the same monarch. The scribes of the Highlands evidently were conservative.

A feature which the **script** of these plates exhibits in common with that of the Am̆bagamuva record is the symbol at the end of a clause, which has been taken by D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe as a punctuation mark. Comparing this symbol with its counterpart in the unpublished Gilīmalē slab-inscription of Vijayabāhu I, and on account of the occurrence of a *ca* in a similar context in the Mannar Kacceri pillar-inscription and the Teliyāva record of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, I have elsewhere suggested that it should be read as *ca* [2]. But the form of this symbol in our record, and the position it occupies therein—written above the line and attached to the letter which it follows—would support Wickremasinghe's treatment of it as a symbol, and not a letter of the alphabet. It, however, occupies the position of *isā* in legal documents of the eighth to fourteenth centuries, and would have served the same purpose semantically, whether a phonetic value was attached to it or not. I have therefore represented it by *ca* in the transcript.

The **language** is Sinhalese prose. The introductory phraseology (11. A 1–3), which is found in other documents of the tenth to twelfth centuries [3],

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, plate 30.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 102.

[3] See, for example, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 130, 186, 221, 234 and Vol. III, p. 321.

is followed by several clauses in a highly ornate style (11. A 6–Bi 1), containing a passage of *vṛttagandhi* and the second half of a Yāgī verse (*pū-paḷa-teda-yasa-pabaňda dasan-meraja-väḷa lakuḷu*). The *oratio recta* contained in 11. Bi 1–Bii 5 probably contains words that were common in the spoken language of cultured people of those days. This, as well as the legal portion which comprises the rest of the document, has a simple dignity not lacking in expressiveness. Unusual words occurring in the record are *Nuru-pura-varehi* (1. A 6), *sihasin* (1. A 6), *yahaḷa* (1. A 7), *pū* (1. Bi 1), *vibalayen* (1. Bi 2), *bharaṇen* (1. Bi 4), *ṣamā* (1. Bii 2), *puvatnā* (11. Bii 4–5), *väḍi-tän* (1. Bii 6), *loy* (1. Bii 7), *yitu* (1. C 3) and *pivin* (1. C 7). Of these, *vibalayen* and *ṣamā* are the result of the ordinary Sinhalese man of those days attempting to pronounce Sanskrit *viplava* and *kṣamā*, respectively, and would be called semi-loans, in the picturesque language of some philologists. *Sihasin*, *puvatnā* and *yitu* have every justification to be taken as having originated through the working of phonological processes, and not written by error for *sihasun*, *pavatnā* and *yutu*, respectively. The form *loy* represents a stage of evolution earlier than *lov* found in classical Sinhalese as well as in inscriptions of an earlier date (10th century)[1]. Skt. *loka* would become **loya*, by the dropping of the intervocalic *k* and the introduction of *y* to avoid hiatus. The elision of the final vowel has given rise to the form in our document, while the change of *y* to *v* has caused the form *lova* from which *lov* is a further development.

This is the earliest in date of the copper-plate charters so far discovered in Ceylon, and disproves Niśśaṁka Malla's claim[2] to have introduced to Ceylon the practice of issuing grants inscribed on copper. In its **historical interest,** too, it takes the first place among all copper-plate charters found in the Island and, in this respect, is not surpassed by any stone inscription either. For it embodies an order, delivered by **Vijayabāhu I** (*circa* 1055–1110 A.D.) seated in Council, granting certain privileges to Sitnaru-bim Budalnāvan, Constable (*daḍa-nāyaka*) of Ruhuṇa, who protected Vijayabāhu in his tender years, his father and the other members of the royal family, when they had to seek refuge in the forest as a consequence of the disorders brought about by the Coḷa invasion, and established him in the principality of Rohaṇa. The very words of the king, spoken in the royal assembly, are embodied in the grant ; they are eloquent of the hardships and dangers

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[1] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 234.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 133.

through which Vijayabāhu—Kitti as he was known in his early years—had to pass before he could make himself acknowledged as the leader of the Sinhalese in the War of Independence against the Coḷas. This is the only ancient Sinhalese document in which a king of Ceylon gives us biographical details concerning himself and, referring as it does to the tribulations of a great man in his days of adversity, the record is of unique human interest.

In **Budal-nāvan,** the beneficiary of this grant, we can recognize **Buddha-rāja** of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* [1] who, according to that chronicle, was the first chieftain to espouse the cause of Kitti, as Vijayabāhu was then known. According to the chronicle, however, Kitti was already thirteen years of age and able to fend for himself with his bow, when Buddha-rāja heard of the promising and youthful prince from Saṁgha, the Chief of the Calendar (*saṁvaccharika-nāyaka*). Our record, on the other hand, gives the impression that the obligation of the prince to Budal started at a much earlier stage of his life. The chronicle, too, makes no reference to the battles which Budal fought on behalf of his protégé at various places; but, in a general way, suggests this by the statement that Kitti, between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, had a camp at Remuṇa on the Ranmala (P. Hiraññamalaya) range [2], which doubtless was within the area under the control of Buddha-rāja, and in which was his ancestral home. The find spot of the plates is in the close vicinity of Ranmalakanda, and the likelihood is that the plates were found on the site of Budal's residence.

Agreeing with the chronicle [3], our record gives the name of Vijayabāhu's father as Mugalan (P. Moggallāna) and gives him the title *maha-sāmiya* (P. *mahā-sāmi*). Our record also refers to him as *rajapā-vahanse,* which is also the term applied to Vijayabāhu. This may be nothing more than courtesy with regard to the father of the reigning monarch. On the other hand, the Aṁbagamuva inscription refers to Vijayabāhu's pārents as Abhāsalamevan-maharaja and Devu-Gon-biso [4], throne names applicable to a consecrated ruler and his consort. There is no evidence to establish that Mugalan, Vijayabāhu's father, ever exercised ruling powers; Wickremasinghe has, therefore, concluded that "this must either be a mistake or that these names were intentionally retained when the phraseology was adopted by the scribe from earlier epigraphs, because they were epithets or *birudas* and could be applied to any one of royal descent" [5]. It is very

[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 57, vv. 29–42.
[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 57, v. 62.
[3] *Ibid*, chap. 57, vv. 29–42.
[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 215.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 204.

unlikely that any scribe, even if carelessness was his distinguishing trait, would have made an exhibition of it where the descent of his royal employer was concerned; we also have no other instance of the epithets of Abhāsalamevan and *biso* being applied to a person for the mere sake of royal birth. We must, therefore, find a more convincing reason for the application of these epithets, appropriate to a ruling sovereign, to Mugalan.

In this connection, it is well to remember that Vijayabāhu's claim to the throne was based on his descent, i.e., to the fact of his being the son of his father. It is true that it was his steadfastness and valour which carried him to the throne, but it was not on this ground that he claimed the allegiance of his subjects. It was due to the reason that he was the son of Mugalan that he was himself entitled to the throne name of Sirisaṁgabo, and this he could not have claimed if his father, in his turn, had not been entitled to the appropriate throne name. With the death of Vikkamabāhu, the son of Mahinda V, the royal house of Anurādhapura became extinct; and Mugalan, the representative of a collateral line which had established itself in Rohaṇa, was the prince who could claim the throne by right of descent. The troubled state of the country did not, of course, give him the opportunity of establishing his claim, but there is nothing to preclude the possibility that, in the remote mountain fastness in which he spent his days, a few of his followers hailed him as Abhāsalamevan, spurring his energetic offspring, a mere boy at the time, to action which transformed a hereditary title to a political reality. Perhaps the Chief of the Calendar (*saṁvaccharika-nāyaka*) who, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa* [1], brought tidings about Vijayabāhu to Buddharāja, had something to do in the assumption of this title by a prince of the royal blood [2].

The expression *Kätte sanda ava,* which occurs before the enumeration of the month and day of the fortnight in the details of the date—27th year of Vijayabāhu I—requires comment. With *Kätte sanda* in our record may be compared *Äseḷ-sanda* in the Puliyankuḷam slab-inscription of Udā Mahayā [3]. Wickremasinghe—I think rightly—has translated this phrase as "Äseḷa

[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa,* chap. 56, vv. 1–6.

[2] In dating documents during this period in Ceylon, the year was not referred to a recognized era like the Buddha-varṣa or the Śaka-varṣa, but to the era of the inauguration of an Abhāsalamevan or Sirisaṅgabo, the throne names borne alternately by the mediaeval kings of Ceylon. The *saṁvaccharika-nāyaka,* in proclaiming how a particular year is to be referred to in documents, indirectly gave legal sanction to the authority exercised by a prince.

[3] *E. Z.,* Vol. II, p. 187.

season" and, referring to the fact that this is followed by "tenth day of the month of Äseḷa" (*Äseḷa-mas'hi dasa-pak davas*), without specifying whether it was the bright or the dark half of the month, has remarked as follows: "This refers probably to the season of Vassa, which begins in Ceylon on the day of the full-moon in the month of Äseḷa (Skt. *Āṣāḍha*, June–July)". The tenth day in the Vassa season must, therefore, be the tenth day after the full-moon[1]. *Kätte*[2]*-sanda*, on this analogy, must mean the *Käti* (Skt. *Kārttika*, P. *Kattika*) season. This is confirmed by the occurrence of the phrase *Käti-samaya* in the old Sinhalese paraphrase of the *Pātimokkha*[3]. These two "seasons" seem to have originated with two important observances of the Buddhist *saṁgha*. The *vassa*, i.e., the retreat during the rains, which normally starts on the day after the full-moon of Äsaḷa, may also start on the full-moon day of the following month[4]. Observing the *vassa* starting on the day following the Äsaḷa full-moon is called *purima-vassa* in Pali, and *pera-vas* in Sinhalese; *pacchima-vassa* in Pali or *pasu-vas* in Sinhalese is its observance starting on the next full-moon. Three months after the start of the *vassa*, i.e., on the full-moon of the month of Aśva-yuja (Sinhalese Vap) or that of the following month of Kārttika (P. Kattika, Sinhalese Il) is the day of the *pavāraṇa* ceremony[5]. The last day for the *pavāraṇa* observance (Kattika) appears gradually to have given its name to the ceremony in general and extended in application to the month also. It has thus come to pass that, in the Pali writings of Ceylon, the month of Assayuja is called Pubba-Kattika, and the month which has a right to this name by the movement of the stars has received the name of Apara-Kattika. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā*[6], v. 76, states: "The months of Kattika and Assayuja, respectively, are Pubba- and Pacchima-Kattika"[7]. The explanation of these two names in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* evidently follows the usage of Buddhaghosa in his *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*[8].

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 189, f.n.1.

[2] *Kätte* is the locative form, the stem being *Käti*.

[3] *Keḷin atuḷa pas masa da no-atuḷa Käti samaya da yana sivuru dena samaya*, by which the Pali *cīvara-dāna-samayo* is paraphrased. *Prātimokṣa* with old Sanne edited by K. Suguṇasāra, B. E. 2445 (1902), p. 66.

[4] *Vinaya Texts*, Translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Part II (S. B. E., Vol. XVI), p. 299.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 325 ff.

[6] Edited by W. Subhūti Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1865.

[7] *Kattik'Assayujā māsā Pacchima-Pubba-Kattikā*.

[8] *Purima-vassaṁ vutthānaṁ pana Pubba-Kattika-puṇṇamā tesaṁ yeva sa ce bhaṇḍana-kārakehi upaddutā pavāraṇaṁ paccukkaḍḍanti atha Pubba-Kattika-māsassa kālapakkhe cātuddaso vā Pacchima-Kattika puṇṇamā vā, pacchima-vassaṁ vutthānaṁ ca Pacchima Kattika-puṇṇamā evā'ti ime tayo pavāraṇa-divasā honti. Kaṅkhā-vitaraṇī*, edited by Karaňdana Jinaratana Thera (Simon Hewawitarana Bequest, Colombo, 1930), p. 3.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chapter 37, v. 68, states that Kittisirimegha had the image of Mahinda taken from Anurādhapura on the seventh day of the bright half of Pubba-Kattika [1], so that the sacred object was at Mihintale on the eighth. The latter must have been the day sacred to Mahinda, for this, as we learn from the *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapter 20, v. 33, was the eighth of the bright half of Assayuja. Pubba-Kattika, therefore, is the same as Assayuja. Though the two lunar months, Assayuja and Kattika, were both known as Kattika in Ceylon, it was the interval between the full-moons of the two months that was more particularly entitled to this appellation. Says the *Vinayatthamañjusā* in commenting on the word *Kattika-māsabbhantara* occurring in the *Khaṅkāvitaraṇī*: "*Kattikamāsabbhantare*: Here the month Kattika is the period of twenty nine days and nights beginning with the first day of the dark half in the month of Pubba-Kattika up to and including the full moon of Apara-Kattika, in between these two" [2]. It is perhaps in the last sense that *Kätte sanda* is used in our inscription.

It may also be mentioned in this connection that one of the four principal festivals of the Sinhalese up to the beginning of the nineteenth century culminated on the full-moon day of Il (Kārttika) and was known as the Kārtiye-pūjāva [3]. It is still observed at the shrines of gods (*dēvāles*). Kārttiya was a festival of lights and, in that respect, resembled the Hindu Dīpāvalī which is celebrated on the new-moon day just before the beginning of the month of Kārttika. Hindus also celebrate a festival on the first day of Kārttika which, in some parts of India, begins the new year [4]. It is not impossible that the Kārtiye-pūjāva of old Ceylon, being a festival of lights, was originally held on the new-moon day preceding Kārttika, i.e., the end of the old year, and extended for some days before and after that. The

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[1] *Pubba-Kattika-māsassa pubba-pakkhe tu sattame.* Turnour, evidently going on the occurrence of the word *pubba* twice, has taken the date to be the seventh day of the first quarter of the month of Kattika (see Wijesingha's translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 160). Geiger has omitted this half verse in his translation of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, probably a lapse.

[2] *Kattika-māsabbhantare'ti ettha Kattika-māso nāma Pubba-Kattika-māsassa kāla-pakkha-paṭipadato paṭṭhāya yāva Apara-Kattika-puṇṇamā tāva ekūnatiṁsa-rattiṁ-divā tass'abbhantare. Vinayatthamañjusā*, edited by U. P. Ekanāyaka, Jinālaṅkāra Press, Colombo, 1912, p. 15. I am indebted to Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera for leading me to this reference, as well as to those from the *Kaṅkhā-vitaraṇī* and the *Prātimokṣa-sanne*.

[3] See Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Glasgow, 1911, p. 128, where the festival is called "Cawtha Poujah", and John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, London, 1821, p. 174. Davy refers to the festival as Karttie Mangalle. The Kārttika festival is also referred to in the *Daḷadāsirita* (Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera's edition, Colombo, 1950, p. 53).

[4] Underhill, *The Hindu Religious Year*, p. 59.

Käti season of our record could possibly have been connected with the counterpart in the eleventh century of the later Kārtiye-pūjāva.

We have next to consider the significance of the word *ava* coming after *Kätte sanda*. It may be a verbal form in the conditional mood, having *Kätte sanda* as the object. In that case, we should read *Kätte sanda ava* and translate "when the Käti season had come". The occurrence of the phrase *Äseḷ-sanda* in the Puliyankuḷama epigraph already referred to, without *ava*, is against such a reading and interpretation, making the word of no particular significance.

On the other hand, it is possible to take *ava* as an adjective, prefix it to the name of the month and read *ava-Vap-mashi ava satavak davas*. *Ava* (=Skt. *arvāk*) normally denotes the second, i.e., the dark, fortnight of a lunar month; but the word preceding *Vap* cannot be so interpreted, for it occurs in that sense following the name of the month, in the usual manner. The first occurrence of the word *ava* must, therefore, be with a meaning differing from the ordinary, and a statement in the Commentary of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, explaining the use of *pubba* and *pacchima* to the two Kattika months in the extract from that lexicon we have quoted above, comes to our aid in deciding the meaning of *ava* in the first context. Says the scholiast: "In accordance with the science of astronomy, the bright fortnight is called the 'first' (*pubba*) and the dark fortnight the 'second' (*apara*); just for that reason, the word (meaning) the second fortnight is conventionally applied to a particular month in ordinary usage (lit., in the world)"[1].

It is clear from these words that this writer based his comments on the usage among the Sinhalese people of his day, i.e., the twelfth century, being about a hundred years after the date of our document. And the Sinhalese word for the dark fortnight, which, we are told, was used to denote a particular type of month, is *ava*, which we find prefixed to Vap in our document. From the nomenclature which gave rise to these comments, i.e., two months, one following the other, being both called Kattika, we can also conclude that the word *ava* was prefixed to the name of a month in similar circumstances. Apart from this peculiar use of the name Kattika for two successive months, we have another and more natural usage of two months of the same name in succession, and that is when a lunar month is intercalated, once in about three years, so as to reconcile the lunar with the solar year. The

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[1] *Jotisasatthakkamena sukka-pakkho kira pubba-saññako kaṇha-pakkho apara-saññako tato eva māsa-visese loke py'apara-pakkho'ti rūḷhi.* Quoted in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, op. cit., p. 21 f.n.

intercalated month itself is the first of two such months, and is now known as the *adhika*, the next month having the identical name is called *nija*. There is thus reason to take that *ava-Vap* in our document is a month of the latter category. This leads us to the conclusion that the year in which our document was issued, the 27th of Vijayabāhu, had an intercalary month, and that month was Vap (Skt. Aśvina or Aśva-yuja).

According to the methods that have been prevalent among Indian astronomers during the last millennium and more, the intercalation of the same month is repeated after a considerable number of years and, if there is a reference in our document to the 27th year of Vijayabāhu as having intercalated the month of Vap, it would enable us to determine exactly what that year was, and thereby to check the accuracy of the dates that have been fixed by various scholars as the year of this monarch's accession. But there were various systems of intercalation prevailing in ancient India, and we have no evidence as to which of these was followed during the eleventh century in Ceylon. Results of absolute certainty cannot, therefore, be expected ; but, if the conclusion arrived at by following a certain hypothesis is in harmony with that to which an examination of the chronological data available for fixing the reign of Vijayabāhu would lead us, we can be reasonably satisfied that the two lines of investigation afford mutual support.

Let us refer now to Devan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. In the second half of the eleventh century, into which period the 27th year of Vijayabāhu I must fall, the month of Vap (Skt. Aśvina) was intercalated in 1052, 1071 and 1090. Neither the first nor the second of these two dates could be taken as the 27th of Vijayabāhu, for to do so would make his initial year too early to fit in with the calculations based on the known date of the accession of Parākramabāhu I. For the same reason, the year 1090 would be too late. None of the years shown in Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* with Aśvina as the intercalated month can, therefore, come into consideration as the date given in our record.

The names of lunar months in Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, however, are given according to the *amānta* system, i.e., taking the month as ending with the new-moon. On the other hand, the Alutväva pillar inscription of the tenth century contains evidence to prove that the system of naming the months adopted by the person who drafted that document was the *pūrṇimānta*, which takes the month to end with the full-moon.[1] The explanation of

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

Kattika-māsa in the *Vinayattha-mañjusā*, cited above, also indicates the familiarity of the author of that work with the *pūrṇimānta* system. It is, therefore, possible that the month in our document is also a *pūrṇimānta*[1]. "In the *pūrṇimānta* system, each month beginning with a full-moon is named after the next *amānta* month, but takes in the dark fortnight preceding each new-moon.[2]" If the month of Vap (dark fortnight) in our document is *pūrṇimānta*, it is the month of Biṇara (Skt. Bhādrapada) according to the *amānta* system. We should, therefore, search for a suitable year in Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* with an *adhika* Bhādrapada. And there were two such years in the second half of the eleventh century, 1063 and 1082. Of these, 1063 is too early for the reasons already given. If we, therefore, take 1082 as the 27th year of Vijayabāhu, that would give us 1055/6 as the year of that monarch's accession. And 1056 is the year which Codrington has fixed for that event.

The date given in our document, i.e., the seventh day of the dark half of *nija* (*ava*) Vap is equivalent to Saturday, the 17th of September, 1082, if the above arguments are valid. That day was in the 27th year of Vijayabāhu[3], the latest possible date for the 26th year being thus the 16th of September, the latest possible date for that monarch's accession is 17th September, 1056, the earliest date possible being the 16th September, 1055.

Wickremasinghe, in dealing with the Aṁbagamuva inscription[4] has calculated from the date of the accession of Parākramabāhu I, and arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vijayabāhu I began in 1058 A.D., and Geiger has adopted this date[5]. If what we have stated in the preceding paragraphs is valid, this date cannot be accepted. Moreover, there is a synchronism with South Indian history which makes this date too late for the accession of Vijayabāhu.

The Tirumukkūḍal Inscription of the Coḷa emperor Vīrarājendra, dated in the fifth year of his reign, i.e., A.D. 1067, has the following reference to a crushing defeat inflicted by his forces on Vijayabāhu: "(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and

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[1] The date given in Sāhasamalla's inscription (*E.Z.*, Vol. II, p. 228) being in the bright half of the month gives no evidence as to whether the month was *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*.

[2] Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 52.

[3] Though Vijayabāhu's capital was Polonnaruva, he was on this day, as stated in our document, seated in state at Anurādhapura. The 27th year of his reign is the tenth from his coronation at Anurādhapura. There is, therefore, a possibility that the date of our record is the anniversary of his coronation.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 205–209.

[5] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, translation, pp. xiii and xxi.

highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Coḷa king) began to wage a war in Īḷam (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese, wherein Kurukulattaraiyaṉ, who wore a golden anklet, and another feudatory whose anger was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Cholas), with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the Island), took to flight without knowing even the directions, and (the Chola king) took his queen captive, conquered . . . . carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own"[1].

K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, the editor of the Tirumukkūḍal inscription, is in my opinion right when he identifies this victory, of which Vīrarājendra boasts, with the engagement between a Coḷa expeditionary force and Vijayabāhu's army, commanded by his general, which took place on the outskirts of Anurādhapura. The severity of the defeat which Vijayabāhu suffered in the battle is not minimised by the Sinhalese chronicler. Flushed with victory, the Coḷa general pursued Vijayabāhu, and it was only his ability for rapid movement which brought Vijayabāhu, just in the nick of time, to the safety of the Vākirigala stronghold, and preserved him to renew the struggle with the invaders under more auspicious circumstances[2]. There was every justification for the exultant words in Vīrarājendra's record, at least at the time they were written.

Nilakanta Sastri has taken the Tirumukkūḍal inscription as referring to the first encounter which Vijayabāhu had with the Coḷas[3]. On this occasion, the enemy whom Vijayabāhu had to deal with was the Coḷa general stationed at Polonnaruva, who, presumably, brought to the field the forces under his command in Ceylon. There is no mention in the chronicle of fresh Coḷa troops coming from South India to take the field against Vijayabāhu in this first encounter, whereas the victory referred to in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription was the achievement of "excessively large forces" sent in a number of ships from the mainland. The Coḷa commander was also not successful, on the first occasion, in establishing contact with the main forces of Vijayabāhu who, on the approach of the enemy, retired to the hills. The only achievement of the invaders was the plundering of Kataragama where, however, they could not remain for long, and had to retire to Polonnaruva.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXI, p. 243.
[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 58, vv. 24–30.
[3] *The Coḷas*, University of Madras, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 331–332.

This campaign, on the whole, was a failure for the Coḷas, and in no way merits the exultant words in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription. If this campaign, which failed to achieve any outstanding victory, was considered fit subject to be celebrated in an imperial *praśāsti*, it is difficult to understand why the pitched battle of Anurādhapura, in which the Coḷas, as admitted by the Sinhalese themselves, inflicted a crushing defeat on Vijayabāhu, has been passed over in silence.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa* agrees with Vīrarājendra's inscription in stating that the Coḷa troops, at whose hands Vijayabāhu suffered so severe a defeat that he had to abandon Polonnaruva and seek refuge inside a rock stronghold, were fresh arrivals from the mainland. According to the narrative of events in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*[1], when the Coḷa emperor heard that the punitive expedition undertaken by his commander at Polonnaruva against Vijayabāhu had failed to achieve its purpose, he sent a well-equipped army which landed at Mahātittha and successfully fought its way to Rohaṇa. Vijayabāhu retired to the stronghold of Paluṭṭhapabbata, in assaulting which the Coḷa army exhausted itself. The remnants retired from the fray, and were pursued by the Sinhalese who killed the Coḷa general. The Coḷa emperor, when he heard of these reverses suffered by his veterans at the hands of one whom he must have treated as a rebel on the periphery of his far-flung dominions, gave vent to his anger, equipped an army of much greater strength than the first, came in person to the sea-port, and despatched his commander with express orders to capture Vijayabāhu, who had then wrested Polonnaruva from the Coḷas[2]. And it was this army which was encountered in the vicinity of Anurādhapura by Vijayabāhu's general, with the result that we have already seen. The victory gained by this expeditionary force certainly deserves the words used in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription. On these grounds, I hold that Nilakanta Sastri is not justified in his view that the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājendra refers to the campaign of the Coḷa general who commanded the Polonnaruva garrison.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, which appears to be based on court annals so far as the history of this reign is concerned[3], informs us that the first expeditionary

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 58, vv. 4–8.

[2] *Ibid*, chap. 58, vv. 13–29. In the word *vīro* which occurs in v. 25, chap. 58, of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, in apposition with *Coḷanarissaro*, it is possible to find an allusion to Vīrarājendra who was also called Vīra-Coḷa, and is referred to by the abbreviated form Vīra in Western Cālukyan inscriptions. See Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Vol. I, p. 291.

[3] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Geiger's translation, part 1, p. 209, n. 5.

force sent by the Coḷa emperor against Vijayabāhu I was routed before the stronghold of Paluṭṭhapabbata, in the eleventh year[1] of that ruler's reign. The despatch of the second expeditionary force must have closely followed the rout of the first, and the battle of Anurādhapura, to which the Tirumukkūḍal epigraph evidently refers, was fought soon after that force had arrived in Ceylon. The Tirumukkūḍal inscription is dated in the fifth year of Vīrarājendra, i.e., 1067 A.D., and the events in Ceylon recorded in it must have taken place in or before that year, probably in 1066 A.D. Now, if we accept Wickremasinghe's date, 1058 A.D., as the first year of Vijayabāhu I, his eleventh year would be 1069. And events which took place in this year could not have been recorded in a South Indian inscription dated 1067. Wickremasinghe, therefore, must have gone wrong in some particular in his calculation of the initial year of Vijayabāhu I as 1058 A.D.

On the other hand, when we calculate this year, on the hypothesis that the 27th year of the reign had an *adhika* Vap (Aśvina, according to the *pūrṇimānta* system) and, agreeing substantially with Codrington, arrive at the conclusion that the initial year of the reign was 1055-6, the eleventh year would be 1066-7, and events which took place in that year could very well have been recorded in an epigraph dated 1067. This date would also enable us to see the subsequent events in Ceylon in relation to the happenings in South India, and would explain why the decisive events in Vijayabāhu's career took place on the particular dates to which they are to be assigned.

After the disastrous defeat at Anurādhapura, Vijayabāhu, as we have already stated, took refuge at Vākirigala with such forces as he could muster. The Coḷas hurled themselves against the natural defences of the place, and suffered much slaughter. They had to retire without accomplishing their purpose of capturing Vijayabāhu who, in his turn, retired further south, so far distant as Mahānāgahula (Rambhā Vihāra, near Ambalantoṭa, in the Southern Province), where he recruited fresh forces in that area of Rohaṇa which had suffered relatively little from the recent disastrous happenings. The Coḷas, on their part, left Vijayabāhu alone ; for, after 1067, Vīrarājendra was fully occupied with the Western Cālukyas on his northern frontier. When Vīrarājendra died early in 1070, Vijayabāhu had had time to recover from his defeats. In the Coḷa empire, on the other hand, there were disturbances which brought the direct line of the succession to an end.

[1] Geiger's translation has twelfth year. This is clearly a slip, for his text has *ekādasamhi so vasse* (chap. 58, v. 18) and he does not state anywhere that he has rejected his own reading.

Adhirājendra, who succeeded to the throne, lost his life in a rebellion after a reign of some weeks, and the Coḷa empire passed to an Eastern Cālukyan prince, Kulottuṅga I, who had to defend his newly won position against the powerful Vikramāditya, the Western Cālukya ruler[1].

Here was an opportunity which Vijayabāhu could hardly have dreamed of, and he took full advantage of it. It was in his fifteenth year that he finally routed the Coḷas and captured Polonnaruva. If we take his initial year as 1055/6, he captured Polonnaruva in 1070/1, while the Coḷa empire was still in the throes of a dynastic change. It is, therefore, clear that he set his armies in motion on the first tidings of trouble in the heart of the Coḷa empire. The Coḷas were not in a position to send fresh forces to Ceylon, and those left in the Island had to fend for themselves. They proved no match for Vijayabāhu's veterans. When Kulottuṅga found himself secure enough to send forces to the south, Vijayabāhu had already consolidated himself, and most probably had his forces ready for a possible trial of strength. But the new Coḷa emperor considered it prudent to cut his losses in this Island, and did not undertake any military expedition against Vijayabāhu. He does not claim any victories in Ceylon, and no Coḷa inscriptions are found in the Island after the third year of Adhirājendra, i.e., 1070[2], the year in which, according to our computation, Vijayabāhu captured Polonnaruva.

On the other hand, according to Wickremasinghe's date for the accession of Vijayabāhu I, the capture of Polonnaruva would fall in the year **1073** A.D., three years after Kulottuṅga had secured the Coḷa throne for himself. Vijayabāhu, according to this chronology, must be taken as having remained idle during the time that the Coḷa empire was going through a crisis, and started his campaign after the new and energetic emperor had had time to establish himself. Such a course of action would hardly have earned for him the epithet of *samayaññu*, by which the chronicler refers to him[3], nor could he have achieved success by pursuing such impolitic methods. Thus it would be seen that there is independent evidence to support the calculation of 1055/6 as the initial year of Vijayabāhu, arrived at by our interpretation of the date contained in this document.

Wickremasinghe and Codrington have both calculated the initial year of Vijayabāhu I from the date of the accession of Parākramabāhu I given

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[1] For Coḷa history during this period, see Nilakanta Sastri, *Coḷas*, Vol. I, pp. 333 ff.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 489. Adhirājendra reigned for only a few weeks; but his inscriptions are dated from the year he was nominated successor of Vīrarājendra in 1068.

[3] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 58, v. 31.

in the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* as 1696 A.B., expired, and found to be correct when the lengths of the intermediate reigns as given in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* are added to the year of Sāhasamalla's accession, the earliest absolutely correct and detailed date in Ceylon history. An inquiry as to why these two scholars, working on the same material, arrived at different results with regard to the date of Vijayabāhu's accession, may not be going too far out of our present subject.

Wickremasinghe takes 1696 A.B., i.e., 1153 A.D., as the date on which Parākramabāhu succeeded his uncle Kittisirimegha as the *mahādipāda* and, on the authority of the *Nikāyasaṁgraha,* which equates Parākramabāhu's fourth year with 1709 A.B. or 1165 A.D., concludes that it was in 1161 that Parākramabāhu had his second *abhiṣeka* after the defeat of Mānābharaṇa. He also reads the *Daḷadāpūjāvalī* as equating the 1254th year after the fifteenth year of Vaḷagam Abā with the seventh year of Parākramabāhu. Wickremasinghe takes this year to be the date on which Parākramabāhu had his first *abhiṣeka* after the death of Gajabāhu II. Codrington has shown that the date 1159 A.D. for the death of Gajabāhu II has been arrived at by Wickremasinghe due to a misreading of the *Daḷadāpūjāvalī,* and that the equation in the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* of the fourth year of Parākramabāhu I with 1165 is also due to a misunderstanding of the *Daḷadāpūjāvalī*[1].

This theory of Wickremasinghe, which implies that it was only in 1161 A.D. that Parākramabāhu had his second *abhiṣeka* and became absolute master of Polonnaruva, is also not in accord with synchronisms with South Indian history. The Arpākkam inscription [2], dated in the fifth year of the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja II (1168 A.D.), refers to the military campaign, in the Pāṇḍya country, of Parākramabāhu's generals, Laṁkāpura and Jayadratha (Jagadvijaya) and, after referring to their earlier successes, records the check they received at the hands of a Coḷa general. It is, therefore, clear that, by 1168, all those numerous engagements recounted in chapters 76 and 77 of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* had already taken place.

For several years after he became master of Polonnaruva, Parākramabāhu was not in a position to despatch any military expeditions outside Ceylon, for he had to quell risings in Rohaṇa. According to the *Daḷadāpūjāvalī* [3], it was only in the fourth year of his reign that his forces captured the Tooth

[1] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register,* Vol. IX, pp. 183–188.

[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy,* Madras, 1899, p. 11 ff.

[3] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register,* Vol. IX, p. 184.

Relic from the Rohaṇa rebels, and brought it back to Polonnaruva; but there was much more hard fighting to be done before Rohaṇa was finally subjugated. According to Wickremasinghe's theory, the bringing of the Tooth Relic back to Polonnaruva should have taken place in 1165 A.D. The fourth year could not have been computed from the date he has suggested for the assumption of the title of *mahādipāda* in 1153, for in 1157, according to Wickremasinghe, Parākramabāhu had not yet captured Polonnaruva. The further course of the fighting in Rohaṇa, the Burmese expedition which preceded the South Indian campaign, and all the fighting in the Pāṇḍyan country recorded in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* must have, according to Wickremasinghe's theory, taken place between 1165 and 1168. This is quite impossible, particularly as Parākramabāhu must have taken a considerable time for military preparations before he was in a position to despatch his forces out of Ceylon after the losses he had suffered in the Rohaṇa fighting.

Some manuscripts of the *Daḷadāpūjāvalī* give the seventh year for the return of the Tooth Relic to Polonnaruva from Rohaṇa. If this is the correct date, the position becomes still worse for Wickremasinghe's theory of three different dates for the accession of Parākramabāhu I. We may, therefore, be certain that 1696 A.B. (1153 A.D.) is the date of that monarch's proclamation as the overlord of the whole Island after the death of Gajabāhu II. There is no justification to take, as Wickremasinghe has done, that the last six years of the reign of Gajabāhu II ran concurrently with the first six of Parākramabāhu I.

It is thus established that there is no evidence for taking any other date than 1696 A.B., expired, as the initial year of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. The other points to be considered in deciding the question whether calculation based on that date would accord with 1082 A.D. as the 27th year of Vijayabāhu are: (1) the duration of the reign of Vijayabāhu and (2) the interval between the close of Vijayabāhu's reign and the accession of Parākramabāhu I. With regard to the second point, Codrington has understood the Devanagala inscription as stating that the interval between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu was 42 years[1], and reconciled this with the other chronological data relating to the period by making the first three years of the reign of Jayabāhu, the successor of Vijayabāhu, run concurrently with the last three years of the latter[2]. No clear statement, however, is

[1] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* for 1918, p. 33.

[2] *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. xvii.

found in the Devanagala inscription that Parākramabāhu came to the throne 42 years after the death of Vijayabāhu. The more acceptable interpretation of the relevant part of the record would be that this was the interval between the death of Vijayabāhu and the beginning of hostilities between Parākramabāhu and his predecessor on the throne of Polonnaruva, Gajabāhu II[1].

A Tamil epigraph found at Polonnaruva and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura[2] clearly indicates that it would be going against facts to force the Devanagala inscription into stating that the interval between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu was 42 years. This epigraph equates the 15th year of Gajabāhu II with the 38th of Jayabāhu[3]. The latter, as we know, was the immediate successor of Vijayabāhu, and his regnal years must have been counted from the year of Vijayabāhu's death[4]. Gajabāhu, it is stated in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* (Chap. 71, v. 22), ruled for 22 years—a statement that may be understood to mean that he died in the 22nd year of his rule. It, therefore, follows that Gajabāhu ruled for six years and some odd days or months after the 38th of Jayabāhu. Even if we assume that the 38th year of Jayabāhu in the Tamil epigraph is just after the completion of the 37th year, we must add six years to 37 to arrive at the interval between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Parākramabāhu, which may, therefore, be taken as 43 years and an unascertained number of months. The year of Parākramabāhu's accession being 1696 A.B., expired, that event could have taken place on any day between April 10, 1153, and April 28, 1154. The death of Vijayabāhu must, therefore, be placed in 1110/11 A.D.

We have now to consider the length of Vijayabāhu I's reign. The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 60, v. 91, gives him a reign of 55 years, but leaves us in doubt whether the reign ended after the completion of the 55th year or while it was still current. The usual practice of the time appears to have been to take the number of the current year in which a king died as the number

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 316.

[2] *A. S. C. A. R.* for 1909, p. 27.

[3] The occurrence of this regnal year does not necessarily indicate that Jayabāhu was ruling, or even alive, for 37 years after he succeeded Vijayabāhu on the throne. The *Cūḷavaṁsa* does not state the length of his reign. He was ousted by Vikramabāhu very soon after his accession, but neither Vikramabāhu nor Gajabāhu II was duly consecrated. It appears to have been against the established practice of the time to date documents in the years of kings who were not consecrated. Documents falling within these two reigns were therefore dated from the last consecration, i.e., of Jayabāhu.

[4] See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 304.

of years of his reign[1]. The fact that the *Pūjāvalī*[2] gives a reign of only 54 years to Vijayabāhu may be taken in support of the view that he died in the 55th year, and not after the expiry of that year. The inscription of the Vēḷāikkāṟas[3] confirms the *Cūḷavaṁsa* with regard to the length of Vijayabāhu's reign, and adds that he celebrated his 73rd birthday before he died. Wickremasinghe has deduced from these two statements in the record of the Vēḷāikkāṟas that Vijayabāhu died in his 56th year[4]. Such a deduction can follow only on the premiss that Vijayabāhu counted his first year from the 17th year of his age. But the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, the only authority for this part of his career, does not definitely say so. What it states (chap. 57, v. 76) is that in the 17th year of his age, he freed Rohaṇa of all enemies. Next follows a statement that he proclaimed himself *yuvarāja* under the style of Vijayabāhu (chap. 58, v. 1). It does not necessarily follow from these two statements that he became *yuvarāja* when he was in his 17th year. It is not impossible that he was already in his 18th year when he proclaimed himself an independent ruler, and began to use regnal years of his own. The possibility cannot, therefore, be ruled out that Vijayabāhu's reign ended in the 55th year and not in the 56th.

We have concluded above that the year of Vijayabāhu's death was 1110/11. If this was his 55th year, the 27th year would fall in 1082/83, which is in accord with what we have deduced, from the hypothesis that this year had an intercalated month of Vap, that 17th September, 1082, was within the 27th year. If Vijayabāhu's reign ended in the 56th year, the 27th would fall in 1081/82, which also does not go against our hypothesis, for it is not impossible that the date given in our record fell towards the end of the 27th year. We have no means of deciding these questions in a more precise manner, but our interpretation of that part of the document detailing its date so as to make the 27th year fall in 1082 A.D. is in accord with known chronological data relating to the reign.

Reverting to the subject matter of the document, we note that the order granting privileges to Lord Budal was delivered by the king after the matter had been brought forward in the assembly by two of its members,

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[1] There is reason to assume that the king "who died in his 17th year", referred to in the Badulla pillar inscription, was Kassapa IV (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 86–87). Kassapa IV is stated in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* (chap. 52, v. 36) to have reigned for 17 years.

[2] Chap. 34, edited by M. Medhankara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 23.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 242–255.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 207.

Kiliṅgu Nāvini Tārādeṭu and (**Kiliṅgu-**) **Nāvini Tundādeṭu.** We may consider them as the proposer and the seconder, respectively, of the motion. These two personages have not been met with elsewhere. We also learn from our document the interesting detail that, while the king was delivering the order, he lifted up and held in both hands a symbolic object referred to as *yahaḷa*, perhaps a yoke. After the royal order was delivered, its contents were embodied in formal phraseology which repeats the substance of the king's words. The date is repeated in this portion and, if the word *Kätte* in the second enumeration of the date be taken as referring to the month of Kārttika, a full month seems to have elapsed between the delivery of the order and the grant of the document embodying it. The edict is attested by Atvaraliyana Dev, the keeper of the register of Tamil clerks—a dignitary known to us only from this document.

Our document differs from the vast majority of Ceylon inscriptions, whether indited on stone or copper, in that it is not concerned with the grant of lands or remission of dues. The royal favour received by Lord Budal for the services rendered by him to his sovereign was of a unique nature. He and his descendants were made exempt from punishment even for treason. It is said that such privileges were hereditary in Lord Budal's family. If so, it may be asked whether the recipient of the grant really gained any extra benefit by it. It may be that the statement in question is a legal fiction. If the king instituted such privileges for Budal's family for the first time, it would have amounted to raising one of his subjects above the law. To whatever extent the recipient of such favours had a claim on the king's gratitude, such an action on the part of the king might have been interpreted as setting the law aside for the benefit of individuals. But when represented as a renewal of an ancient privilege, it would have amounted to the maintenance, by the king, of former customs and usages. And that was precisely what a good king was expected to do.

TEXT

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1 සවස්ති සිරි සිරිවත් අපරියත් ලොඉකුත්ගුණ මුළෙන් උතුරත් මුළු දඹදිවිහි අන්කැත්කු-
2 -ල පාමිලි කළ ඔකාවස්රජපරපුරෙන් බට කැත්උසබනට අගමෙහෙසුන් වූ ලග්දිව්පො-
3 -ළො යොහෙනපරපුරෙන් හිමි **සිරිසඟබො විජයබාහු** රජපා වහන්සෙ තුමා සියවික්-
4 -මෙන් දෙමෙළබළමුළුඅඤුරු දුරු 'ලා මුළුලක්දිව් එක්සෙසත් කැරැ රජ වළඳැමින් ස-

5 විසි හවුරුද්දක් ඉකුත් සත් ළැඟු සත්විසිවන්නෙහි කැත්තෙ සඳ අව වප්මස්හි අව සත-

6 වක්දවස් නුරුපුරවරෙහි සිහසිනරා කිරුළුමිණිරසින් පළ සෙසත්කිස තවරමින් වැඩැ හිඳැ

7 තමා සොවුරු ඈපා මායා යුවරජ ඈ රජගණා ප්‍රමුඛයෙන් සිහවිකුම් යහළ යුවළතිනුක-

B (i)

1 -හා පූපළතෙදඝසපබඳ දසන්මෙරජවැළ ලකුළු ලවන් අත්පස්හි පාමින් රුණුදඬ-

2 නායක සින්නරුබිම් බුදල්නාවන් අප සොළීදෙමළුන් ගෙ විබලයෙන් සියරජීන් පි-

3 -රිහී ගල්වලැ වැළැහී වන අවදියැ අප පිය මහසැමිය මුගලන් රජපා වහන්සෙ

4 ඈ මුළු රජකුල සියපිරිස්නෙන් රකැ අප සගවියෙහි වඩා වනමුල්පලාහරණෙන්

5 පුසැ ඇකුත් ඇකුත් තන්හි මගමින් ඇසිරෙන විපකුන් කෙරෙන් වළහා තන්හි තන්හි

6 විග්‍රහ බැඳැ රුහුණුදනවු පෙරෙළා එකත් කොට ගල්වලින් බහා සියරජහි පිහිටු-

7 -වා දුක්වුන් ප්‍රශාදයට මෙකුන් දරුමුනුම්බුරන් ච මෙකුන් ගෙ අන්වය ආ වූ සෙ ද-

B (ii)

1 -ඬ මුඩු ගතැ යුතු දෙෂයක් කළ ද බසින් පටවා කරන දැහැවිල්ලෙන් මුත් දඬමුඩු නො ග-

2 -න්නා ච දැඟැ ලා නොපටවනු ච දිවි දී මිසැ නොමුස්නා වරදකුදු ඈත තුන් වරක් දක්වා ෂමා කරනු කො-

3 -ට ච පෙත්පමුණු නො ගන්නා කොට ච යම් පමණ ද්‍රොහයකුදු කළ අභය දී දූකැ පියවත් මුත්

4 නිග්‍රහ නො කරනු කොට මෙ වැවසථා අප සිය කැතකුලෙහි ඔකාවස් රජපරපුරු පු-

5 -වත්නා තාක් සාසන කොට දෙන්නෙය් කිලිඟුනාවිනි නාරා දෙටුන් මෙගම්නාවිනි තුනඳු

6 දෙටුන් දක්වා වදළෙයින් රුහුණු දඬනායක සින්නරුබිම් බුදල්නාවන් වැඩි තැන් සගවියෙ-

7 -හි වඩමින් ලොවැඩ වඩා මුළුරජකුල සැමැඟැ රක්මින් මුළුලොය් දිවි රකැ වනමුල්පලා හරණෙ

C

1 -න් පුස්මින් මුළුලොය් පුසැ වැඩිතැන් සියරජහි පාළ කෙරෙමින් මුළුලොය් සෙත් පාළ කොට දු

2 -ක් වුන් ප්‍රශාදයට ලක්දිව්තෙලෙහි ඔකාවස්රජපරපුරෙන් බට කැතකුලෙහි රජපරපුරු

3 පුවත්නා තාක් මෙකුන් දරුමුනුම්බුරන් ච මෙකුන්ගෙ අන්වය ආ වූ සෙ දඬමුඩු ගතැ සිතු වර-

4 -දෙකැ බසින් පටවා කරන දැහැවිල්ලෙන් මුත් දඬමුඩු නො ගන්නා ච දැඟැ ලා නො පටනු ච

5 දිවි දී නොමුස්නා දෙෂයකුදු කළ තුන්වරක් දක්වා ෂමා කරනු ච පෙත්පමුණු නො ගන්නා කො-

6 -ට යම් පමණ ද්‍රොහයකුදු කළ අභය දී දූකැ පියවත් මුත් නිග්‍රහ නො කරනු කොට සත්විසිවන්නෙහි

7 කැත්තෙහි අව සතවක් දවස් පිවින් මත්තෙහි මෙ වැ[ව*]සථා කළ බවට දෙමළලෙය්-දරුපොතැ අක්ෂර ලියන දෙව්මි

Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Inscription

A Bi Bii C

A Bi Bii C

Scale 5½ inches to 1 foot

TRANSLITERATION

A

1 Svasti siri siri-vat apariyat lo-ikut-guṇa muḷen uturat muḷu Damba-divhi an-kät-ku-

2 -la pā-mili kaḷa Okāvas-raja-parapuren baṭa kät-usabanaṭa aga-mehesun vū Lag-div-po-

3 -ḷo yohena[1]-parapuren himi **Siri-sangabo Vijayabāhu** raja-pā-vahanse tumā siya-vik-

4 -men Demeḷa-baḷa-muḷu-anduru duru lā muḷu-Lak-div ek-se-sat kärä raja vaḷandamin sa-

5 -visi havuruddak ikut sat ḷäṅgu sat-visi-vannehi Kätte sanda ava Vap-mas'hi ava sata-

6 -vak-davas **Nuru-puraverehi** sihasin=arā kiruḷu-miṇi-rasin paḷa se-sat-kisa tavaramin väḍä hindä

7 tamā sovuru ǟpā māyā yuva-raja ǟ raja-gaṇā pramukhayen siha-vikum yahaḷa yuvalatin=uka-

B (i)

1 -hā pū-paḷa-teda-yasa-pabanda dasan-meraja-väḷa lakuḷu lavan at- pas'hi pāmin Ruṇu-daḍa-

2 nāyaka **Sitnaru-bim-Budal-nāvan** apa Soḷi-Demaḷun ge vibalayen siya-rajin pi-

3 -rihī gal-valā väḷāhī vana avadiyä apa piya maha-sämiya **Mungalan-raja-pā**-vahanse

4 ǟ muḷu raja-kula siya-pirisnen räkä apa saga-viyehi vaḍā vana-mul-palā-bharaṇen

5 pusä äkut äkut tanhi maṅgamin äsirena vipakun keren vaḷahā tanhi tanhi

6 vigraha bändä Ruhuṇu-danavu pereḷā ekat koṭa gal-valin bahā siya-rajahi pihiṭu-

7 -vā duk vun praśādayaṭa [2] mekun daru-munumburan ca mekun ge anvaya ā vū se da-

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[1] Read *yohon*.

[2] Read *prasādayaṭa*.

B (ii)

1 -ḍa-muḍu gatä yutu doṣayak kaḷa da basin paṭavā karana dähävillen mut daḍa-muḍu no ga-

2 -nnā ca däṅgä lā no paṭavanu ca divi dī misä no-musnā varadak=udu äta tun varak dakvā ṣamā karanu ko-

3 -ṭa ca pet-pamuṇu no gannā koṭa ca yam pamaṇa drohayak=udu kaḷa abhaya dī däkä piyavat mut

4 nigraha no karanu koṭa me vävasthā apa siya käta-kulehi Okāvas-raja-parapuru pu-

5 -vatnā[1] tāk sāsana koṭa denne-y **Kilingu-Nāvini–Tārā-deṭun me-gam-Nāvini-Tundā**

6 **deṭun** dakvā vadāḷeyin Ruhuṇu-daḍa-nāyaka **Sitnaru-bim-Budal-nāvan** väḍi-tän saga-viye-

7 -hi vaḍamin lo-väḍa vaḍā muḷu-raja-kula sämäṅgä rakmin muḷu-loy divi räkä vana-mul-palā bharaṇe-

C

1 -n pusmin muḷu-loy pusä väḍi-tän siya-räjahi pāḷa keremin muḷu-loy set pāḷa koṭa du-

2 -k vun praśādayaṭa[2] Lak-div-teḷehi Okāvas-raja-parapuren baṭa käta-kulehi raja-parapuru

3 puvatnā tāk mekun daru-munumburan ca mekun ge anvaya ā vū se daḍa-muḍu gatä yitu[3] vara-

4 -dekä basin paṭavā karana dähävillen mut daḍa-muḍu no gannā ca däṅgä lā no paṭanu ca

5 divi dī[4] no musnā doṣayak=udu kaḷa tun varak dakvā ṣamā karunu ca pet pamuṇu no gannā ko-

6 -ṭa ca yam pamaṇa drohayak=udu kaḷa abhaya dī däkä piyavat mut nigraha no karanu koṭa sat-visi-vannehi

7 Kättehi ava satavak davas pivin mattehi me vä[va*] sthā kaḷa bavaṭa Demaḷa-ley-daru-potä **Atvara liyana Devmi**

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[1] Read *pavatnā ?*

[2] Read *prasādayaṭa*.

[3] Read *yutu*.

[4] Comparison with B (ii) 2 will make it clear that the word *misä* has been omitted here by an inadvertence. Read *dī misä*.

TRANSLATION

[Ll. A1—Bi 1] Prosperity! While boundless transcendental virtues were overflowing from (their) multitudes, just as Prosperity was [1]. His Majesty [2], King **Siri-sangabo Vijayabāhu,** descended from the lineage of King Okāvas [3] who made other *kṣatriya* families in the whole of Dambadiva [4] his vassals [5], the lord, by right of descent, of the damsel, the earth of the Island of Laṁkā [6], the chief queen of *kṣatriya* nobles [7]—(His Majesty)—on the seventh day of the second month of Vap [8] of the Käti season, in the twenty-seventh year of the raising of the umbrella of dominion, when twenty-six years had passed while enjoying the sovereignty after having, with his own prowess, dispelled the darkness of the hordes of Tamil soldiers, and made the whole of the Island of Laṁkā (subject to) one umbrella—(His Majesty)—having ascended the lion throne in the noble city of **Nuru** (i.e., **Anurādhapura**) [9] and being seated (thereon), painting (as it were) the inside of the brilliant white umbrella with the effulgence of the jewels in his

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[1] *Sirivat . . . . uturat* :—This clause ends with a verbal form in the conditional mood; it cannot, therefore, be taken as adjectival and qualifying *Okāvas-raj-parapuren*, as has been done by Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 237) and, following him, by me (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 323). It may be compared with the Tamil phrase *tiru-maṉṉi vaḷara* ("while Fortune, having become constant, was increasing", see *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 106 and 108) with which some of Rājendra-Coḷa-deva's inscriptions open, and should be treated as a complimentary reference to the good government of the king, indirectly furnishing reason for the observance of the edict issued by him. The suffix *-vat* in *siri-vat* is the same as Skt. *-vat* implying likeness; cf. *turuvat*, explained as *turu men* in *Sidat Saṅgarā* (Dharmārāma's edition, p. 173). The statement that virtue (*guṇa*), just as prosperity (*siri*), was overflowing, suggests that there is an inherent opposition between these two, the one being equivalent to Skt. *dharma* and the other to Skt. *artha*. That the one was overflowing just as well as the other indicates that the aim of all good government—the reconciliation of the two mutually contradictory principles of state-craft—had been achieved by the king.

[2] *Raja-pā-vahanse.*

[3] Skt. *Ikṣvāku*, P. *Okkāka.*

[4] Skt. *Jambudvīpa*, i.e., India.

[5] *Pā-mili kaḷa.* See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 140, n. 3.

[6] *Lag-div-poḷo-yohena parapuren himi : Yohena* in this phrase, if it be not a clerical error for *yohona* (cf. *yohon*, *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 321), may be derived from Skt. *yoṣaṇā*, "maiden", or more likely from an ungrammatical form *yoṣaṇī*. The form *yohon* itself can be taken as originating from Skt. *yoṣaṇā*. For the interpretation of the phrase, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 81. The phrase *taman yona parapuren himi Lak-diva* in the Galpota inscription of Niśśaṁka Malla (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 109) may be cited against the interpretation of *poḷo-yona* given by me in the *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 81. It is possible that *yona* in the Galpota record has to be equated with Skt. *yauna*, "relating to, resulting from, or connected by, marriage", and taken as forming a compound with *parapuren*. Such an interpretation would be in accord with the right that Niśśaṁka Malla had to the Sinhalese throne, which originated from the intermarriage between the royal families of Ceylon and Siṁhapura in Kāliṅga.

[7] *Kät-usabanaṭa* :—See *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XV, p. 215.

[8] Skt. Aśvina or Aśva-yuja, September-October.

[9] Cf. *Nurupuraṭa agnideśehi* in the Sinhalese glossary of the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, Dharmārāma's edition, Colombo, 1910, p. 121.

diadem, in the presence of the royal assembly including his brothers—the heir-presumptive, the heir-apparent [1] and the *yuvarāja*—and others, he of lion-like prowess [2] lifted up the yoke [3] in both hands and showing side-ways [4] his lips from which flowed [5] renowned majesty [6] and abundant glory [7], and which were made beauteous by the series of rays from his teeth (spake thus).

[Ll. Bi 1—Bii 5] " At the time we were remaining concealed in the mountainous wilderness, having been deprived of our own kingdom in

[1] The two brothers of Vijayabāhu were named Mahinda and Rakkhita (*Mv.*, chap. 57, v. 42). On the accession of Vijayabāhu to the throne, the elder, under the title of Vīrabāhu, was created *uparāja* and given the government of Dakkhiṇadesa (*Mv.*, chap. 79, v. 11). Dakkhiṇa-desa being the appanage of the *māyā* or *mahayā* (P. *mahādipāda*), the heir-apparent, he may be taken as the *māyā* referred to in our inscription. The younger, under the title of Jayabāhu, was created *āpā* (P. *ādipāda*, the heir-presumptive) and given the governorship of Rohaṇa (*Mv.*, chap. 59, v. 12). He was no doubt the *āpā* at the time this document was issued. Our record seemingly refers to three separate dignitaries : *āpā*, *māyā* and *yuvaraja*. There is, however, no evidence that Vijayabāhu had more than two brothers and, as the *Mv.* definitely states that Virabāhu, the *yuvarāja*, was given the Dakkhiṇa-desa, i.e., the Māyāraṭa, we have to take *māyā* and *yuvaraja* as referring to the same person. In the reign of Niśśaṁka Malla, the offices of *māyā* and *yuvaraja* were held by the same prince, as is proved by the Polonnaruva Council Chamber inscription which reads : *yuvaraja vä siṭi māpāṇan vahanse* (*C. J. Sc.*, Vol. II, p. 137). In the 30th year of Vijayabāhu, i.e., three yeare after the date of this document, the *yuvarāja* Vīrabāhu played an important part in quelling the revolt of the Vēḷāikkāṛas (*Mv.*, chap. 60, vv. 36–41). He predeceased Vijayabāhu. Jayabāhu succeeded to the office of *yuvarāja* (*Mv.*, chap. 60, vv. 86–87) and ascended the throne on the death of Vijayabāhu (*Mv.*, chap. 61, vv. 1 ff.).

[2] *Siha-vikum* is not an attribute of *yahaḷa*, as it appears to be, but a *bahu-vrīhi* compound used in apposition with *rajapāvahanse*.

[3] *Yahaḷa* : It is clear that this word is not used here in any meaning attached to it in Sinhalese literature. The king, while he delivered an order in the Council, is stated to have lifted up and held the *yahaḷa* in both hands. There are two possible explanations with regard to the origin of the word. It may be derived from a compound of Skt. *ayas* and *gadā*. *Ya* is the regular derivation in Sinhalese of Skt. *ayas* ; but we have to account for the change of *g* to *h* and *d* to *ḷ* (through *ḍ*) of the word *gadā*, if we adopt this etymology. The first change can be explained by assuming that the *g* at first hardened into *k*, as it is in fact found in the modern *yakadā* for *ya-gadā*, and later changed to *h*, witness Sin. *muhuḷu* for Skt. *makuṭa*. The change of *d* to *ḷ* (through *ḍ*) is usually due to an *r* in the word, but is also noticed in words which contain no *r*. Witness, for example, Sin. *doḷos* for Skt. *dvādaśa*. If this etymology is accepted, *yahaḷa* has to be rendered " iron mace ". It is not impossible that the king held up an iron mace as the symbol of power and authority while delivering an order. The other possible etymology is to trace it to Skt. *yuga*, " yoke ", to which the pleonastic *-la* had been added. The change of *g* to *h* in this case would be the same as in the other etymology. The change of *l* to *ḷ* is exemplified by *yuvaḷa*, " pair " (from Skt. *yugala*), found in this very document. There is evidence that the yoke was considered as the symbol of justice and administrative responsibility in ancient Ceylon as well as in India (see *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XV, pp. 209–217) ; I have, therefore, preferred the second interpretation. The yoke lifted up and held in both hands, while delivering an order, would have conveyed the idea that the king had due regard to justice and administrative responsibility in giving his verdict on a matter brought up in the assembly. *Yahaḷa* being an inanimate object, the compound *siha-vikum* preceding it cannot be taken as its attribute.

[4] *At-pasa* is equivalent to P. *hattha-pāsa*. See *Sikhavalaňda-vinisa*, edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1924, p. 34. *Hätpasa* is a further development from it.

[5] *Pū*, taken as the preterite of Skt. *pra-√vah*. The earlier form *puvū* is found in the Miṇipe slab-inscription, see below, p. 159.

[6] *Paḷa-teda* = Skt. *prakaṭa tejas*.

[7] *Yasa-pabanda* = Skt. *yaśaḥ-prabandha*.

consequence of the calamity[1] caused by the Soḷi (i.e., Coḷa) Tamils, **Lord Budal** of **Sitnaru-bim**[2], Constable[3] of Ruhuṇa[4], with the aid of his retinue, protected the entire royal family, including our father, His Majesty **King Mugalan**[5], the Great Lord; (he) brought us up in our tender age; (he) nurtured us with the sustenance[6] of (edible) roots and green herbs from the jungle; (he) concealed us from enemies[7] who were prowling about[8] seeking us wherever we went; engaging himself in battle in (this) place and (that) place, (he) secured[9], once again, the territory of Ruhuṇa, took us out of the mountainous wilderness and established us in our own kingdom; and this is as favour for the hardships he underwent[10] (on our behalf). With regard to the sons and grandsons of this (Lord Budal), in the manner as it has come down from his lineage, even if (they) were to commit an offence for which fines or imposts[11] should be levied, beyond a reprimand[12] administered by word (of mouth) after having settled (the offence)[13], no fines or imposts should be levied; an offence committed by them should not be settled after having put (them) in prison; should there even be an offence committed (by them)

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1 *Vibalayen* is the instrumental form of a Sinhalese word equivalent to Skt. *viplava*.

2 The identity of this territorial division cannot be ascertained.

3 *Daḍanāyaka* is the name of an office which appears to have had civil as well as military functions. See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 86.

4 Pali and Sanskrit Rohaṇa, the south-eastern district of Ceylon.

5 P. *Moggallāna*.

6 *Bharaṇen* is the instrumental of *bharaṇa*, a Skt. *tatsama*.

7 *Vipakun*, genitive plural of *vipak*, Skt. *vipakṣa*.

8 *Äsirena*, present participle reflexive of a root equivalent to Skt. *sam-√car*.

9 *Ekat koṭa*.

10 *Duk-vun praśādayaṭa*: This has to be treated as a *tatpuruṣa* compound, *vun* being genitive in sense and expressing the cause of *praśāda*. *Vun* is the preterite of root *vindi*, equivalent to Skt. *vind*.

11 *Daḍa muḍu*: These two words usually form a pair and together mean "fine". *Daḍa*, from Skt. *daṇḍa*, alone means "fine". *Muḍa* appears to be equivalent to Skt. *muṇḍa*, "shaven". The shaving of the head was at times inflicted as a punishment in ancient times. Whether this word, occurring in this and other similar contexts, had this meaning originally, or whether it is of a different origin, cannot be decided. In this particular instance, as in numerous other contexts in which *daḍa-muḍu* or variant forms occur, *muḍu* does not have the sense of "shaving the head".

12 *Dähävillen*, the instrumental of *dähävili*, a verbal noun from the root *daha*, "to show anger". Cf. P. *ujjhāyati*.

13 *Paṭavā* and *paṭavanu*: The first of these two words is the absolutive and the second the present participle in an infinitive sense, of the causal form of a root *paṭa* equivalent to Skt. *pra-√sthā*. The literal meaning of the verb would thus be "to place" or "to settle"; here, as well as in the Vēvälkäṭiya inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 246–247), forms of this root are used in a technical or legal sense with reference to the administration of criminal justice. The contexts in which forms of this verb occur in the Vēvälkäṭiya record are: *marā paṭvanu koṭ* (11. 12 and 26), *tirā no kaḷa dasa-gama ättan pansälis davasekin soyā genä paṭvanu koṭ* (11. 14–16), *at kapā paṭvanu koṭ* (1. 23), *tirā no vat koṭā paṭvanu koṭ* (11. 28–29), *gama ättan paṭvannaṭ harnā koṭ* (1. 38). In the expression *raṭ paṭvannaṭ giya raj-kol sam-daruvan* (*E. Z.*, Vo. I, p. 47), this verb appears to mean "settle". In judicial contexts, *paṭavanu* appears to mean the decision given after an inquiry into an offence, so that the matter may be finally disposed of with no possibility of being opened up again.

which cannot be expiated [1] otherwise than by giving up life, (they) should be pardoned up to three times ; (their) shares [2] (of land holdings) and estates [3] should not be confiscated; even if treason, of whatever degree, be committed (by them), apart from banishing (them) after having granted amnesty and seen (them)[4], no degradation [5] should be inflicted, let these regulations be constituted into a charter to last as long as the royal lineage of Okāvas of our own Kṣatriya family, and be granted."

[Ll. Bii 5—6] As it was thus ordered (by His Majesty, the matter) having been presented by **Kilingu Nāvini Tārā-deṭu** and **Nāvini Tundā-deṭu** of this (self-same) race [6] (be it enacted as follows) :

[Ll. Bii 6—C 6] Whereas **Lord Budal** of **Sitnaru-bim,** Constable of Ruhuṇa, increased the welfare of the world by bringing up His Majesty [7]

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[1] *No musnā,* lit., "from which one is not freed ". The expression indicates the theory of punishment which prevailed in ancient Ceylon. Punishment is meant to absolve a person from the effects of the offence he has committed ; not a case of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". According to this theory, no stigma should be attached to a person who has suffered due punishment for any offence committed by him.

[2] *Pet* is equated with P. *patti,* Old Sinhalese *pati.* See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 118.

[3] *Pamuṇu :* Same as modern Sinhalese *paraveni.* See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 276, n. 3.

[4] *Abhaya dī däkä piyavat mut : Piyavat* is the conditional mood in the causative of the root *piya* (Skt. *pra-√hā*), "to discard", "to reject" &c., and, in this context, most probably means "to banish". If any descendant of Budal committed an act of treason, for which the penalty was death or something worse than death, the utmost penalty that could be inflicted on him was banishment. Even this, however, had to be inflicted after having given him amnesty and the king himself having seen him. There appears to have been no inconsistency in the grant of amnesty and subsequent banishment. The amnesty, no doubt, referred to the usual penalty for treason.

[5] *Nigraha* is a word which, with reference to penalties, is of indefinite import. It may mean bodily chastisement or degradation into those groups which, in ancient days, were subjected to severe social disabilities. Acts of treason were normally punished with torture or social degradation.

[6] *Kiliṅgu* and *Nāvini* occur as elements in the personal names of signatories to royal edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries. For the former, in the form of Kiliṅg, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 197, and Vol. II, pp. 17, 47 and 160. For the latter, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 197. According to the Sinhalese Glossary of the *Mahābodhi-vaṁsa* (*op. cit.*, p. 144) 'Kiliṅgu' was the designation of a community who had to serve the Bo-tree by supplying fresh flowers, and Nāvini was one of the villages granted to the same shrine (*ibid*, p. 145). The village must have been in the vicinity of ancient Anurādhapura. *Me gam* in the second name, evidently, implies that an element from the first has to be taken to it. As *Nāvini* is repeated in both, it cannot be understood by *me-gam,* which must thus refer to *Kiliṅgu. Gam,* therefore, must, in this context, mean "a community of men", not "a village".

[7] *Väḍi tän :*—It is clear from the context that this expression is used in respectful reference to the king in the third person. It is identical in significance with the expression *väḍa vun tena* (*täna or tän*) in the Oruvala Sannasa and other documents of the Kōṭṭe period (See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 53). *Väḍi* is the preterite and *väḍa* the absolutive of the root *vaḍi,* "to come", applied to a personage of high distinction. The root appears to be the reflexive form of one derived from Skt. *vṛddh,* "to increase", which has acquired a secondary meaning. *Tän, täna* or *tena* means "place". The expression *väḍi tän* would thus mean, "the place to which has come" and *väḍa vun täna,* "the place to which has come and remains". The "place" is the person of the king, but neither phrase expressly indicates who has come and remains in the person of the king. The ideas about kingship familiar to the people of those days no doubt made it superfluous to state who has come. Most possibly, the omission is deliberate, having reference to one whose name it was blasphemy to utter. In my opinion, these expressions indicate that the person of the king was the place of residence, temporarily, of a divinity. The title *āsthāna* of Sinhalese princes during the 15th to 17th centuries has also to be explained in the same manner.

in his tender age, protected the life of the whole world by protecting the entire royal family together, nurtured the whole world by nurturing (His Majesty) with the sustenance of edible roots and green herbs from the jungle, proclaimed the bliss of the whole world by proclaiming His Majesty in his own sovereignty—as favour for the hardships he underwent, and to last so long as the royal lineage of Okāvas continues to exist in the Island of Laṁkā, concerning the sons and grandsons of this (Lord Budal), in the manner as it has come down in his lineage, beyond a reprimand administered by word (of mouth), after having settled the offence, no fines or imposts should be levied in the case of an offence for which fines and imposts should be levied; (an offence committed by them) should not be settled by having them put in prison; even if an offence be committed which cannot be expiated otherwise than by giving up life, they should be pardoned up to three times; (their) shares (of land holdings) and estates should not be confiscated; even if treason, of whatever degree, be committed by them, apart from banishing (them) after having granted amnesty and seen (them), no degradation should be inflicted.

[Ll. C 6–7] To the effect that these rules have been promulgated (to be effective) after (this) date [1], (to wit) the seventh day of the waning moon in the month of Käti of the twenty-seventh (year), I, Atvara Liyana Dev, (Keeper of) the Register of Tamil clerks [2] (do testify).

No. 2. MURUTAVA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

BY S. PARANAVITANA

THE subjoined inscription is engraved on a flat rock in the vicinity of the modern *dēvāle* at Murutava in the Ihala Visidekē Kōralē of Hiriyāḷa Hatpattu in the Kuruṇāgala District [3]. No remains of ancient structures are to be seen at present in the neighbourhood. The writing, consisting of five sprawling lines of varying length, covers an area of 6 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. 7 in. at the extreme points. The individual letters vary in height between 15 in. and 2½ in. and between 9 in. and 4 in. in breadth.

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[1] *Davas pivin mattehi*: This expression may be compared with *me davas pevin* in the Virañdagoḍa pillar inscription, below, pp. 119–124. *Pivin* and *pevin* are instrumentals of a stem derived from old Sinhalese *puviya*, for which see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p.179. Literally, the phrase may be rendered, " (this) date, having preceded, after (that) ".

[2] *Ley-daru*.

[3] No. 816 in the Register of Inscriptions maintained by the Archaeological Department.

The **script** is of the angular variety, preferring straight lines, which is found in a number of short records datable between the fifth and eighth centuries. Among the records so far published, that which exhibits a script having the closest resemblance to the writing in our document is a rock inscription from "Vessagiri", in Anurādhapura, illustrated as No. IV in Plate 12 of *E. Z.*, Vol. IV. Compared with the script of this "Vessagiri" inscription, that of the present record will be seen to be more cursive. Particularly noteworthy is the difference between the *ya's* of the two records. The right half of the *ya* in our document is a straight horizontal base line with a short stroke branching upwards close to the end, whereas the right half of *ya* in the "Vessagiri" document is roughly a segment of a circle. With regard to the medial vowel signs, that for *i* is curved, so much so that, in some cases, it forms a circle together with the horizontal bar at the top; see, for example, *ni* and *bi* of l. 2. On the other hand, the *o*-sign is a short horizontal stroke, and the *e*-sign a short diagonal stroke detached from the consonantal symbol. Among inscriptions which can be dated by means other than palaeographical, the one which exhibits a script inviting comparison with that of the present epigraph is the Nāgiri-kanda rock inscription of the reign of Kumāradāsa (*circa* 508–516).[1] When the individual letters of the two records are compared, those of our document exhibit forms that are much more developed. Palaeographically, therefore, our record may be a century or so later in date than the period of Kumāradāsa.

Sirisagiboyi (P. **Sirisaṁghabodhi**), who is hailed at the beginning of the record, is no doubt the king who was ruling at the time it was indited. This document, thus, is one of the very few mentioning a king among the stone inscriptions palaeographically datable between the 5th and 9th centuries. Unfortunately, however, this fact is of little value, for the record contains no data with the help of which we can identify our Sirisaṁghabodhi with a king mentioned in the chronicle. Aggabodhi III (*circa* 628–639) is stated in the chronicle to have been known by the title of Sirisaṁghabodhi; so also was the fourth of that name (*circa* 667–683). Palaeographically, there is no objection to either of these two monarchs being identified with the Sirisaṁghabodhi of our inscription; but other rulers of the period could have borne this epithet[2] and we have, therefore, to leave the identity of the king mentioned in our record undecided.

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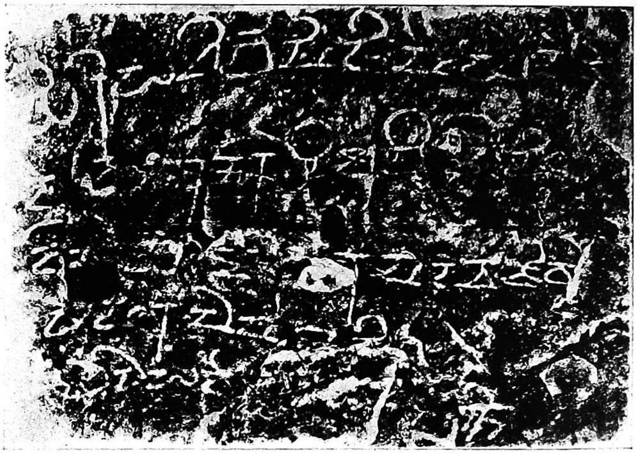
[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, plate 11.

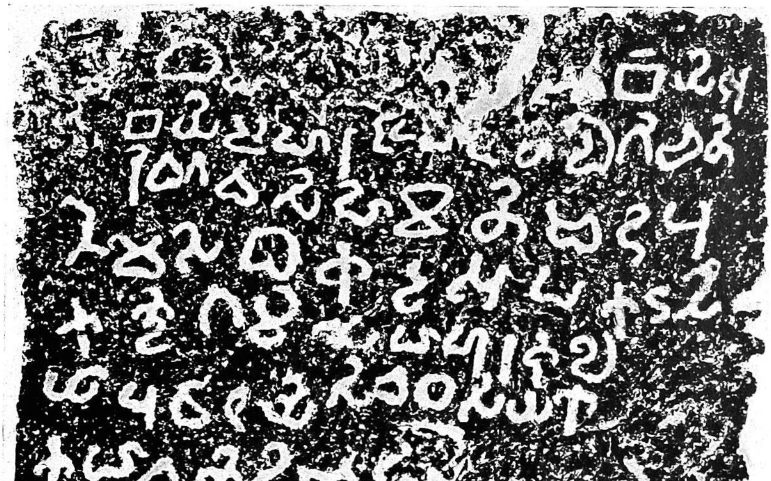
[2] See below, p. 31.

Murutava Rock-Inscription



Scale ½ inch to 1 foot

Kuḍāratmalē Rock-Inscription



Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

The **object** of the record is to register an order of a military commander named **Daḷana** (P. **Dāṭhānāga**), manumitting all children who were slaves. The order was carried into effect by an individual named **Abi Mihidala** (P. **Abhaya Mahinda**). Neither of these personages figures in the chronicle.

TEXT

1. සිරිසගිබොයි ජීය සෙනෙවි
2. ද[ළන] අණකනි අබි මිහි-
3. -ද[ල] සෙමෙ (ද)රයන චිදිවි
4. වහරලය [ෙ]මහි
5. පල සව[සතනට] පති

TRANSLITERATION

1. **Sirisagiboyi** jiya Senevi
2. **Da[ḷana]** [1] aṇakani **Abi Mihi-**
3. **-da[la]** seme (da)rayana c[i]divi
4. vaharalaya m[e]hi
5. pala sava-[satanaṭa] pati

TRANSLATION

May **Sirisagiboyi** be victorious [2]. In accordance with an order [3] of **Daḷana,** the Commander-in-Chief, [4] **Abi Mihidala** freed all children from slavery [5]. May the fruit of this (action) be shared [6] by all beings.

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[1] These two syllables are only partially preserved. Their identity, however, is certain.

[2] *Sirisagiboyi jiya.* These two words have been taken to form a clause standing by itself, with no grammatical relationship with the rest of the document. *Jiya* is equivalent to Skt. *jīyāt,* and is the earlier form of *de* in the phrase *sära de* of Sinhalese literary works. It is also possible, on the analogy of titles like *Jaya-maha-lē,* to take *jiya* as going with *senevi,* to equate it with Skt. *jaya,* and to interpret the first line as Jiya-senevi (Jaya-senāpati) of Sirisagiboyi.

[3] *Aṇakani* is the instrumental of *aṇa,* to which is added *-ka,* the indefinite suffix.

[4] *Senevi*=Skt. *senāpati.*

[5] *Seme darayana cidavi vaharalaya. Seme* (Skt. *sarve*) is the earlier form of *säma, sämä* and *häma* found in literary works. *Darayana* is equivalent to P. *dārakīnāṁ.* Cf. *daruyana, E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 132. The literal translation of the whole phrase is, " of all children, the condition of being slaves, was made to cease ".

[6] *Pati :* See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 118. Compare also the expression *sava-satanaṭa peta anumovatu* in the Ruvanvälisāya pillar-inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 122 and 125–126.

No. 3. KUḌĀ-RATMALĒ ROCK-INSCRIPTION

By S. Paranavitana

THIS inscription [1], the discovery of which was due to Mr. M. J. Kumaranayaka, B.A. (Hons.), was copied by the Archaeological Department in 1951. It is indited on a flat rock in the jungle, at a site now known as Vēragal-kanda, near the village of Kuḍā-Ratmalē to the west of the 3rd mile-post on the road from Anurādhapura to Talāva. The inscribed area, at its extreme points, measures 4 ft. 2 in. horizontally and 3 ft. 4 in. vertically. There are eight lines of writing of varying length, the last being the shortest. The letters are deeply engraved, but clumsy in appearance with thick lines; in height they vary between 5 in. and 1½ in. Seven or eight letters of the first line have been totally obliterated, and two of the second partly damaged, due to the weathering of the stone. The rest of the record is well-preserved.

The **script** is rather cursive, and the individual letters are lacking in uniformity. The vertical strokes of the letters have undergone little or no development from the stage in which they were in the earliest form of the Brāhmī script. The letter *ra*, for example, is merely a vertical stroke and, of this as well as of *ka*, *a*, and the medial sign for *u*, the lower extremity, which had already, in the normal Ceylon Brāhmī of the first century A.D., started its course of development by being curved upwards to the left, is found in the script of our record without having undergone any change. The short horizontal bar at the top of vertical strokes, noticed in the script of the first and second centuries, and which played an important role in the evolution of the Sinhalese script, is altogether absent in most of the letters; see, for example, *ka* of l. 7 and *ra* of l. 5. The *na*, which is the last but one of the last line, is of very archaic appearance, there being no horizontal stroke at the top, and that at the base being attenuated. The third letter of l. 3, which has also been read as *na*, presents, however, a different aspect. Of vertical features, it is only the right wing of *la* which has undergone development, being curved. The horizontal strokes, on the other hand, show considerable development when compared with the corresponding features of second century Brāhmī. See, for example, the base lines of

[1] See *A. S. C. A. R.* for 1951, p. 44, and No. 17 of Appendix F.

ha (l. 2), *ca* (l. 7), *e* (l. 4) and *la* (l. 2). The horizontal stroke of *ka* has undergone the greatest change, having, in some cases, been curved, at the extremities, first downwards, then inwards, so as to get itself transformed into an ellipse, as in the fifth letter of l. 4. In the case of *ma*, the top is open except in the example in l. 3. The development noticed in the left wing of *a* occurring in l. 1 (last letter) is quite different from that in the same letter in l. 5. The stroke for the medial *i* is curved, whereas that for *o* is a short horizontal stroke, and the *u-mātrā* a vertical stroke, as in the earliest Brāhmī. The letter *ba* (l. 2) has also remained without any development; the *ta*, on the other hand, has developed a loop.

The archaic features noted above do not warrant our ascribing the script to a date as early as the second century, when those features had already disappeared in the normal development of the Ceylon script; for, side by side with them are other features which have undergone change. Moreover, in the undeveloped nature of the vertical strokes, the script of our document resembles that of the Nilagama rock-inscription of Moggallāna II, which is as late as the sixth century in date. The script of the Nilagama inscription is of a somewhat florid character, and shows uniformity in the shape of the letters, while that of our record is rather cursive and clumsy. In spite of these differences, the basic forms of the letters show enough resemblance to justify a comparison between the two. Certain letters of the Nilagama record, for example, *ja*, *ma* and *la*, are definitely more developed than the corresponding forms in our epigraph which may, therefore, be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to a date somewhat earlier than that of Moggallāna II.

The document is **dated** in the fourth year of a king whose name, unfortunately, is not fully preserved. The last five letters of the name read *-boyi Abayi ;* before the letter *bo* can be seen fragments of the letters *sa* and *ga*. It is, therefore, clear that the king of our record was styled **Sirisagaboyi Abayi** (P. **Sirisaṁghabodhi Abhaya**). The chronicle mentions only one ruler whose personal name was Sirisaṁghabodhi; but his date (*circa* 246–248 A.D.) is too early for the script of our record. The chronicle also gives " Sirisaṁghabodhi " as the title of a number of other kings, e.g., Aggabodhi III (628–639) and Aggabodhi IV (667–683). We also know that, in the mediaeval period, *Sirisaṅgabo* and its variant forms were borne by alternate kings of Ceylon as a throne name[1], and it is clearly in that capacity that the name occurs in our document, which thus contains the earliest

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 9–10.

occurrence of this throne name so far known. With regard to the personal name of the king, it may be observed that the first symbol in 1. 1. is the lower half of a *ma*, larger in size than the average. This is followed by a *ha* almost perfectly preserved. The third letter is totally effaced; of the fourth, the lower portion of a vertical stroke is visible, enabling the letter to be read as *ka*. Thus, there is justification for reading the first four letters of the record as *Mahanaka*, a personal name equivalent to P. Mahānāga. It is, however, difficult to conclude that the date given in our epigraph is in the regnal years of the king of this name who reigned in the second half of the sixth century, for the document has the fourth regnal year, while the reign of Mahānāga, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*[1], lasted for only three years. Moreover, between the fourth letter read as *ka* and the place where *si* of *Sirisagaboyi* would have been, there is room for three letters, of which the first has left its horizontal base stroke, enabling it to be restored as *ba*. It is, therefore, possible that *Mahanaka* was followed by a word of which the initial letter was *ba*. An intermediate form between P. *bhāgineyya* and S. *bāna* is a possible conjecture, in which case the king styled Sirisagaboyi (Sirisaṁghabodhi) of our record was the nephew of Mahānāga, i.e., Aggabodhi I (*circa* 571–604). There is no insuperable palaeographical difficulty in assigning our record to the reign of Aggabodhi I. The occurrence of forms less developed than those in the Nilagama inscription of Moggallāna II can be explained by reference to similar forms in the inscription of Dāṭhopatissa at Dakkhiṇa Vihāra[2], which belongs to a time even later than Aggabodhi I. Inscriptions sometimes exhibit forms of letters which are archaic for their dates. The throne name of Sirisaṁghabodhi has not been recorded of Aggabodhi I, and it is doubtful whether the order of succession entitled him to it. The identity of Sirisaṁghabodhi of our epigraph cannot, therefore, be settled conclusively.

With regard to the **language**, as has already been noted, certain words contain aspirates, and there is one in which a consonantal nexus is found, but these all happen to be in proper names; other noteworthy words are the locative *vasi* (1. 3) instead of the usual *vasahi*, *dasu* (1. 4) for *dasa*, *puvijayi* (1. 6), and *kahavaṇi* (1. 7) for *kahavaṇa*. *Dasi* (1. 4), if it is not a clerical error, shows the elision of the whole syllable *va*, for it is equivalent to *davase* (Skt. *divase*). Skt. *divasa* is *dā* in literary Sinhalese, the development of the

[1] Chap. 41, v. 102.

[2] See below, pp. 65–72.

word would have been *divasa*>*davasa*>**dasa*>**daha*>*dā*. The *va* had been dropped at some stage of the development, and there is nothing against the assumption that this had occurred by the time of our record. In its locative ending *-i*, it is paralleled by *vasi*. In *punemasi* (Skt. *pūrṇṇa-māsa*), it is interesting to note that the element *rṇ* has changed to *n*. For the rest, the language shows the same stage of development as the Nilagama inscription.

The **purport** of the document is to record the manumission of a Friar named Sidhatha (P. Siddhattha) by the payment of a hundred *kahāpaṇas*. This, to my knowledge, is the only document in which a member of the *saṁgha* figures in this role. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Buddhaghosa narrates a story in which a monk who had entered the Order, unaware that he was born a slave, was anxious about the validity of his ordination when he became aware of the fact (for the Vinaya rules expressly prohibit a slave receiving ordination), and secured his freedom from the party who could have a claim on him[1]. This record and the one dealt with in the preceding paper are both concerned with the manumission of slaves. As there is a large number of documents of similar contents dating from the fifth to seventh centuries, and as my interpretation of the relevant phraseology, *cidavi vaharalaya*[2], first put forward in dealing with some inscriptions from "Vessagiri", has recently been called in question, I include, as the next paper, a critique of the critique on this particular phrase.

TEXT

1. [ම]හ ... (ක බ)... ... (සිරිසග)බොයි අ-
2. -බයිමහරජහ [ච]ත ලගි චති-
3. -රවන වසි හිමතිචද පු-
4. -නෙමසි එකදසුපක දසි
5. කක්බගමි[ය]හ අරකල-
6. -යි පුවිජයි සිධථ සියක
7. කහවණී දි චිදවි වහරල-
8. -ය පල සවසතනට

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[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S. Edition, p. 1001.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pp. 134–135.

TRANSLITERATION

1. **[Ma]ha..(ka ba)....[Sirisaga]boyi A-**
2. **-bayi-**maharajaha [ca]ta lagi cati-
3. -ri-vana vasi Himati-cada pu-
4. -ne-masi ekadasu-paka dasi [1]
5. Kakkha-gami[ya]ha arakala-
6. -yi puvijayi **Sidhatha** siyaka
7. kahavaṇi di cidavi vaharala-
8. -ya pala sava-satanaṭa

TRANSLATION

On the eleventh day of the fortnight of the waxing moon in the month of Himati [2], during the fourth year of the raising of the umbrella of dominion by the great king **(Sirisaga)boyi Abayi,** . . . . the *arakalayi* [3] of Kakkha-gamiya [4] gave a hundred *kahāpaṇas* and freed Friar [5] **Sidhatha** from slavery [6]. The merit (of this action is given) to all beings.

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[1] Perhaps to be corrected to *davasi*.

[2] P. *Hemanta*. A month named *Himate* is referred to in a pillar inscription of the ninth century, from Mihintale (Müller, *A. I. C.*, No. 15). This is probably a name for the month called Il (earlier from *Hil*, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 172) corresponding to Skt. *Kārttika*, P. *Kattika*. *Hil* or *Il* means " cold ", and is thus identical in meaning with *Himati*. The month of Il of Hil (*Kattika*) was the beginning of the Hemanta, i.e., winter season (see *Sikhavaḷañda-vinisa*, D. B. Jayatilaka's edition, p. 15), and the name of the season appears to have been transferred to its first month.

[3] *Arakalayi* is the same as *arikileya* in the Mihintale Plinth-course inscription (*A. I. C.*, No. 114). *Araka* and *ariki* are obviously to be derived from Skt. *ārakṣaka* or *ārakṣika*, " guard " or " watchman " ; *layi* or *leya* is equivalent to Skt. *lekhaka* " scribe ". The title, from its etymology, appears to have been of an officer entrusted with police duties. The Sinhalese consider it courtesy to refer to a person by his official title, rather than by his personal name. It was the rule in the Kandy period.

[4] This place cannot be identified.

[5] *Puvijayi* is from Skt. *pravrajita*. The later forms of the word are *päviji* and *pävidi*. For the change of *a* in the first syllable to *u*, due to the influence of *v* in the second, compare *duvan* from Skt. *jaghana*.

[6] *Sidhatha* . . . . *vaharala cidavi :* Literally, " of Sidhatha, the condition of being a slave (slavery) was made to cease ". *Sidhatha* must be taken as a crude form in the genitive sense.

No. 4. INTERPRETATION OF *VAHARALA*

BY S. PARANAVITANA

S. PARANAVITANA (P), in editing certain Sinhalese inscriptions of the sixth or seventh century, has interpreted the word *vaharala*, which occurs therein, as "slave" (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 132–133). D. J. Wijeratne (W), in an article contributed to the *University of Ceylon Review* (Vol. X, pp. 103–120), has attempted to reject this interpretation and puts forward his own view, that *vaharala* or its variant means "wood" or "timber". W. objects to P.'s interpretation on grounds of (i) incorrect etymology, (ii) grammar, (iii) undue straining of the meaning of words associated with *vaharala*, and (iv) inappropriateness of the interpretation to the context. W. claims for his own interpretation the merit of avoiding "undue damage to the laws of phonology and rules of grammar and also unnecessary straining of meanings of words".

In the interpretation of a word of unknown meaning occurring in an old Sinhalese document, a hypothesis may be based on one or more of the following: (1) the appropriateness of a meaning to the context or contexts in which the word occurs, (2) the identification of the word of unknown meaning with a word of known meaning belonging to an earlier phase of linguistic development, e.g., a Sanskrit or Pali word, or (3) similar identification with a word in the later phase of the language, e.g., in the literary works or the current speech of today. It will become clear to any one who reads P.'s article on this subject in the *E. Z.*, that he has examined the various contexts known to him in which the word *vaharala* and its variants (one of which is *vahala*) occur, in order to come to a conclusion with regard to the appropriate meaning; and, on the hypothesis thus formed, identified *vaharala* with *vahal* occurring in literary works and in inscriptions of a later date.

W. objects to *vaharala* being taken as an earlier form of *vahal* on the ground that "the intervocalic *-r-*, being a persisting, stable consonant in Sinhalese, never disappeared". This "law" on which he relies, if it is valid, must have been framed by one who is aware of everything that ever happened in the Sinhalese language—a Kalikāla-Siṁhala-Sarvajña. The matter cannot be stated more unequivocally than it has been in this "law", which has been framed as one not admitting any exception. The moment an exception

is brought forward, the "law" itself ceases to be valid, and cannot reasonably be cited against the identification of *vaharala* with *vahal*. Even W. is aware of one Sinhalese word in which that "persisting stable consonant *-r-*, which never diappeared" has, in fact, disappeared. But the "law" for W. is more important than the truth; and, in pursuance of his undertaking "to avoid undue damage to the laws of phonology", he does not say a word about this "law"-breaking word in his text. The fact that that "persisting, stable consonant *-r-*, which never disappeared" in Sinhalese, had disappeared in *pokuṇa* cannot, however, be totally ignored. He, therefore, avoids causing "undue damage" to his "law" by magisterially laying down in a foot-note: "The only exception to this rule appears to be *pokuṇu*, pond; classical Sinhalese *pokuruṇi* side by side with *pokuṇu*. Cf. P. *pokkharaṇī*, Pk. *pokkharaṇī*, Skt. *pauṣkariṇī*, *puṣkariṇī*. This instance does not disprove the above phonological law, as it is a contraction caused by special circumstances and belongs to a different linguistic stratum". W. himself is evidently conscious that the impact of *pokuṇa* can cause mortal damage to his "law of phonology"; otherwise there was no need for him to have brought two "cushions", namely "special circumstances" and "different linguistic stratum", to break the force of the impact of *pokuṇa* with his "law". But, are these two "cushions" capable of preventing W.'s phonological "law" from suffering mortal damage at the hands of *pokuṇa* ?

Let us first take the "cushion" of "different linguistic stratum" and see what protection it can afford to that ill-fated "law" in danger of being repealed by *pokuṇa*. The "law" states: "the intervocalic *-r-*, being a persisting stable consonant in Sinhalese, never disappeared". The disappearance of *r*, which has taken place when Sin. *pokuṇa* developed from Old Indian *puṣkaraṇī*, it is claimed, does not invalidate this law, because "it belongs to a different linguistic stratum". Different from what? If the argument is to be valid, a linguistic stratum different from that in which the *-r-* never disappeared must be meant. But in the "law" in question, it is stated that the *-r-* never disappeared in Sinhalese. If the *-r-* disappeared in *pokuṇu* for the reason that it is of a different linguistic stratum, that linguistic stratum must be one other than Sinhalese. W.'s argument, therefore, leads to the conclusion that *pokuṇa* is not a Sinhalese word at all—which is absurd. Neither can it be argued that *pokuṇa* is excluded from the operation of the "law" under discussion, because the *-r-* had disappeared in a particular place. The word "never" also includes "nowhere", for it is impossible to

conceive of any event occurring in space without also occurring in time, and " never " embraces all time. One of W.'s " cushions " has thus been torn to tatters and blown away.

The " special circumstances " which W. holds as a " cushion " to break the force of the impact of *pokuṇa* with the above phonological " law " are detailed by him in the following words : " Evidently, this unusual contraction, in which the intervocalic *-r-* has disappeared, has taken place because the word occurs as a part of a proper name of a place. For it is not uncommon in Sinhalese, or for a matter of that in any language, to have abnormal phonetical developments in place-names as they are being constantly subjected to loose pronunciation by ordinary people of different cultural levels ". The " law " of phonology, which W. defends against *pokuṇa,* as it is formulated, does not permit any " special circumstances " to overrule it. So, if any " special circumstances " are found to have overpowered it, the " law " itself, by that very circumstance, has been abolished, because an essential part of the " law " is that it admits of no exceptions. If an exception is admitted, the " law " becomes quite a different " law ", and cannot be invoked against the derivation of *vahal* from *vaharala.* If " special circumstances " make it within the law to allow the disappearance of *-r-* in *pokuṇa,* why should not the same hold good for the disappearance of *-r-* in *vaharala* becoming *vahal* ?

W. attempts to restrict " the special circumstances " to one category, words which occur as " a part of a proper name of a place ". Even if he succeeds in this attempt, the " law " cannot be saved, for if *-ra-* had disappeared in a word which occurs as a part of a proper name of a place, it cannot be stated that it *never* disappeared in Sinhalese. But has he succeeded in this attempt ? He quotes the example of *Kirilapone* being pronounced as *Killapone* to substantiate his claim that place-names stand outside the normal phonological laws ; but precisely the same change is seen in *herali* being pronounced *helli* without being a part of a proper name of a place. Words which are found in place-names more frequently than *pokuṇa,* for instance *gama, väva, deṇi, nuvara, hapu, giri, väṭi, gas, vaḷa, tara, maha,* to cite only a few, have not claimed exemption from phonological laws. Why does *pokuṇa* alone merit exemption from phonological laws for the reason that it is found in place-names ? The fact that a word is found as a component part in a few place-names does not, therefore, entitle it to be considered as out of the pale of phonological laws. If such a word undergoes a certain change, that change itself is due to a law, and not to the word

being above or outside the law. The restriction of "special circumstance" to the fact of being a part of a place-name is thus invalid.

So is the reason that such words are being constantly subjected to "loose pronunciation by ordinary people of different cultural levels". It is not place-names only that are subjected to "loose pronunciation by ordinary people of different cultural levels". Words denoting various other things, articles of food, implements of agriculture and trade, words expressing relationship and a host of others are subjected to similar "loose pronunciation". Words occurring in place-names cannot, on that ground, be treated as belonging to a special category. What is the reason for assuming that *vaharala* could not have been subjected to "loose pronunciation"? Is a word denoting "slave" restricted in usage to people of high cultural level who eschewed loose pronunciation? Did people, when they called a slave, or made reference to him, take particular care to see that their pronunciation was not loose? Is it when we talk to our "servant boys" today, or talk about them, that we exhibit our accomplishments in correct pronunciation? If "loose pronunciation by ordinary people" could have made the *-r-* disappear so as to give us *pokuṇa*, why should not the same reason be operative in *vaharala* becoming *vahal*?

W., in order to establish the phonological uniqueness of *pokuṇa*, so that it may not be considered as an analogy for the change of *vaharala* to *vahal*, further argues: "Thus the contraction of *pokuruṇi* into *pokuṇ*, *pokuṇa* by the dropping of *-ru-* may be explained as being due to the word having occurred in place-names, and later this popular form *pokuṇu* extracted from place-names has been applied as a common noun. Subsequently it has supplanted phonologically regular *pokuruṇi*." Why did the Sinhalese people of old go out of their way in search of an illegitimate form, occurring only as a part of a place-name, wrench it away from its moorings, and adopt it in preference to a legitimate form with which they were familiar? Is it usual for people who already possess an established word to denote a thing constantly in use to go to an obscure place, amputate its name and bring a part of it back for daily use in preference to what they had been familiar with in their speech for generations?

W. might as well have applied here the statistical method for which he has shown such a marked partiality. Place-names with *pokuṇa* are not very many; in the period during which *pokuṇ* first made its appearance in the Sinhalese language, a *pokuṇa* was a feature of almost every village.

The number of place-names with *pokuṇa* found in official lists is probably not more than the number of old *pokuṇu* to be found at Anurādhapura and its environs. People must have gone daily to the *pokuṇa* for their bath, and the word denoting it must have been frequently in their mouths. If this word was not *pokuṇa*, why did they suddenly feel the necessity of supplanting it with *pokuṇa*, and go to a village in the name of which the word had assumed that form in order to effect the change ? Has " loose pronunciation " of the word with *-ra-* given rise to forms other than *pokuṇa* ? If not, is it not due to a law that the word has changed form only to *pokuṇa* ?

W.'s second " cushion " has gone the way of the first, and his " law of phonology " is exposed to the full force of the impact with *pokuṇa*. And from this impact, the " law " sustains not " undue ", but *fatal* damage. This so-called " law " fully deserves its ignominious fate ; for, in the form in which it has been cited in the *vaharala* case, it has been conceived in the brains of philological " legislators " who subordinate facts to theory. It has no right to the dignified appellation of " law ". In order to avert damage to it when it comes in contact with the facts of the language, philologists who abide by it have to resort to arguments which are on a par with those adduced by the law-breaking tree-climber of the Sinhalese folktale, in defence of his law-breaking. Abiding by a " law " which is not a real law does not thus differ in its effect from the breaking of a law which is valid.

W. is under a false sense of security when he confidently asserts that *pokuṇa* is the only word which can cause mortal damage to his " law " of phonology. For there are a number of other words in which that " persisting stable consonant *-r-*" had disappeared, and which can attack W.'s phonological " law " with an effect as deadly as that caused by the onslaught of *pokuṇa*.

We quote, to begin with, an example of which several stages in its evolution are available : Sin. *amuṇa* (dam) =Skt. P. *āvaraṇa*. *Āvaraṇa* (lit. obstruction) in the meaning of " dam " (in local parlance " anicut ") is found in the *Samanta-pāsādikā*[1]: *nadito mātikaṁ nīharantā nadiyaṁ āvaraṇaṁ karonti*. The form *avaraṇa* occurs in a number of old Sinhalese inscriptions in the Brāhmī script, for instance, in the inscription of Kaniṭṭha-Tissa on the pavement of the Northern (Abhayagiri) Dāgāba at Anurādhapura[2]. The form *avaṇa*, in which the *-ra-* has dropped, is found in more than one

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[1] P. T. S. Edition, p. 1054.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 255. The reading *avaraṇa* in this record is beyond doubt, though Wickremasinghe has given it within round brackets.

passage in an inscription, palaeographically attributable to about the fifth century, from a place named Hiňgurēgala near Vällavāya in the Ūva Province[1]. To quote one extract, this record has: *Gamaṭa-taṭu avaṇaha dayana karana Yaha . . . . kabara* (the field named Yaha . . kabara which is being cultivated with water from Gamaṭa-taṭu dam). The next stage in the evolution of this word, *avuṇu* or *avuṇa*, is preserved in the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapada*[2] and the *Amāvatura*[3] which give these forms as the equivalent of P. *āvaraṇa*. The *Ruvanmala*, v. 610, gives the form *avuṇu* as well as *amuṇu* found in literary works and still current in the spoken language. Thus we see that, in this word, that " persisting stable consonant, *-r-*, " which was present in it during the early centuries of the Christian era, had disappeared by about the 5th century.

The *Sidat-saňgarā*[4] informs us that *näḷi-tel* means " coconut oil ". The analysis of the compound, as given in that Grammar, *neraḷuyē tel*, establishes that *näḷi* is a synonym of *neraḷu*, the word denoting " coconut ". The earlier form of *näḷi* is *neḷi*, which is met with in one of the verses on the gallery wall at Sīgiri (No. 379 in the forthcoming *Sīgiri Graffiti: neḷi-pala vann liya tana*). *Neraḷu* and *neḷi* both go back to the form *nāḍira*, occurring in an inscription of the 1st century B.C. at Mihintale[5]. The other phonological changes undergone by *nāḍira*, in assuming the form *neraḷu* on the one hand, and *neḷi* or *näḷi* on the other, need not be gone into here. It is certain that *neḷi* and *näḷi*, meaning " coconut ", have come into being by the disappearance of that " persisting, stable consonant *-r-* ".

Ruvanmala, v. 192, includes *varalu* in a list of synonyms denoting " collection ", " assemblage ", " cluster ", &c.; vv. 261–2 admit *varalu* into another similar list. Verse 478, in the section dealing with homonyms, informs us that *varalu* means " collection ", " cluster ", &c.[6]. The modern word *valu* has very much the same meaning as given by the *Ruvanmala* for *varalu*. There is no doubt that *valu* is derived from *varalu*. This, too, therefore, has to be taken as another instance of the disappearance of that

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[1] This record is No. 78 of Müller's *A. I. C.* A peculiarity of this document is that the strokes for medial vowels are very rarely used in it. See below, pp. 111–119.

[2] Sir D. B. Jayatilaka's edition, p. 218.

[3] Bhadanta Sorata's edition, p. 125.

[4] Bhadanta Dharmārāma's edition, Colombo, 1943, p. 121.

[5] No. 20 of Müller's *A. I. C.* Puṭakaṇa Gamiṇi Abaya of this inscription is Kuṭakaṇṇa (43–21 B.C.). Müller's reading of the record is defective. That portion in which the word *nāḍira* occurs reads: *nāḍira-ara-(be eke)*, " one grove of coconuts ".

[6] The references are to Baṭuvantuḍāve's edition.

"persisting, stable consonant *-r-*". The Sinhalese word *gōla*, "pupil", can be derived from Skt. *gurukula-ka*, if the occasional dropping of *-r-* is admitted. The other phonetical changes involved in this etymology are attested by numerous words of which the derivation is not in dispute. The word *saḷu*, "spoon", occurring in the *Saddharmma-ratnāvalī*[1], is obviously developed from *saraḷu* of the same meaning, occurring in the same work[2]. *Tam*, in such compounds as *kuḍā tamak*, is obviously derived from *taram* and *atana*, "that place", from *ara-täna*. In all these, the *-r-* which "never disappeared" has in fact disappeared.

W. objects to the derivation of *vahal* from *vaharala* for the reason that it violates "a law of phonology" which lays down that "the intervocalic *-r-* being a persisting stable consonant in Sinhalese never disappeared". To begin with, he has had no doubt about the efficacy of his "law" under all circumstances, and about its application to all strata of the Sinhalese language. After he had stated the validity of this "law" in terms which permit of no exception, *pokuṇa* had somehow come within the range of his vision. Some anxiety had arisen in his mind about the possibility of *pokuṇa* causing damage (not undue) to this "law of phonology". He then proclaims that *pokuṇa* is the one and only word which can be presumed to cause damage to this "law of phonology", and dutifully seeks to avert that damage by holding, from the comparatively safe ground of a foot-note, the two "cushions" of "different stratum" and "special circumstances". How inefficacious these two "cushions" have been for the purpose of breaking the force of the impact of *pokuṇa* against that "law of phonology", we have demonstrated above. Moreover, we have pointed out that *pokuṇa* is not the only word which can cause damage to this "law of phonology", which thus stands invalidated under these attacks by words in which that "persisting stable consonant *-r-*" had disappeared. The only etymological reason brought forward against the identification of *vaharala* with *vahal* being thus found to be invalid, that identification stands "undamaged" (to use "scientific" terminology) on this score.

There being thus no reason to reject the identification of *vaharala* with *vahal*, *vahala* found in one record can very well be taken as the intermediate form through which *vaharala* developed to *vahal*. The fact that it occurs in only one record, whereas *vaharala* and the other variants are found in

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[1] Edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1929, p. 121.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 358 and 374.

several, is no reason against the genuineness of *vahala*. When a new form comes into being in the process of evolution, that form must of necessity be singular until it stabilises itself. If it fails to stabilise itself, it would always remain singular. There are many examples of word-forms which are numerically weak in documents of certain periods. For that reason, however, they cannot be dismissed as clerical errors. When the word *mila* comes to our ken for the first time in an inscription of about the 3rd century, its numerical position is very weak. The proportion of the documents in which the form *mila* occurs, as against those in which *mula* is found, would be about the same as the proportion between *vaharala* and *vahala*. But *mila* prevailed, and nobody would discard it as a clerical error, because the phonological process by which *mila* can develop side by side with *mula* from Skt. *mūlya* is recognised. Similarly, if the phonological process by which *vaharala* becomes *vahala* is recognised, the latter should not be dismissed as a clerical error. On the other hand, it has to be given its due position as the prototype of *vahal* occurring in the later language. W.'s statistical analysis, therefore, serves no purpose. When the first man stood erect on his two feet, his statistical position compared to other creatures must have been very low, and statistically he could have been denied real existence. But he has prevailed against the statisticians of his time, assuming that they were in existence at so early a date.

P. does not base his interpretation of *vaharala* and its variant forms on the etymology of *vahal* suggested by Geiger. His interpretation is based on the identification of *vaharala* with *vahal*. If *vaharala* and *vahal* are identical, the derivation of *vahal* must also be the derivation of *vaharala*. Therefore, after having formulated his hypothesis of *vaharala* meaning "slave", i.e., being the same as *vahal*, he notes Geiger's derivation of *vahal* from Skt. *vṛṣala*, and that it is "not impossible that *vṛṣala* took the form of *vaharala* through the intermediate forms **varasala* and **varahala*". Mark the words "not impossible", which by no means express that he has taken as an established fact that *vaharala* is derived from Skt. *vṛṣala*. What the form of the word was in the Old Indian or Middle Indian stage has no bearing on the validity of the identification of *vaharala* with *vahal*, which is firmly based on the phonological rule that *-ra-* within a word occasionally drops. And this we claim to have established. In fact, we can be certain that Y is the son of X without knowing who X's grandfather was. In order to accept that the modern Sinhalese *munuburu* is derived from *manumaraka*

in the early Brāhmī inscriptions, it is not necessary to be certain about the origin of *manumaraka*.

But the main phonological objection of W. to *vaharala* being derived from *vṛṣala* through **varahala* is as invalid as his objection to *vaharala* becoming *vahal.* To state this objection in W.'s own words "There is no evidence in any of the Mid. or Mod. Indian languages, not to speak of Sinhalese, that Skt. *-ṛ-* ever became *-ara*, as it would be, if *vṛṣala*>**varasala*. On the contrary, the evidence is that Sk. *-ṛ-*>*-a-*, *-i-*, or *-u*" in Mid. and Mod. Indian. Sk. *-ṛ-*>Sin *-a-* (less frequently) *-i-* or *-u-*". Evidently, from W.'s point of view, if it is to be admitted that *vṛṣala* can become *vaharala* through ** varahala*, instances must be shown where *ṛ* had become *-ara-* in Mid. Ind. or Mod. Ind. languages. It is, for him, less important whether the phonological change can be shown in Sinhalese. Sinhalese, therefore, in his opinion has to be modelled on Mid. Ind. and Mod. Ind. The possibility that Sinhalese can have an individuality of its own is excluded. There is no reason given, however, why Sinhalese cannot in some particulars show phonological changes which are not met with in Mod. Ind. and Mid. Ind. If the change of *ṛ* to *-ara* can be instanced in Sinhalese, it is immaterial whether the change is noticed in the Mid. Ind. and Mod. Ind. languages, and the derivation of *vaharala* from *vṛṣala* is not phonologically objectionable. There are several such examples.

In *Ruvanmala* (v. 260), *gärahini* is given as a word meaning "woman". The *ä* in the first syllable is due to the modification of an original *a* by the influence of *i* in the following syllable. The word must, therefore, have been current originally in the form of **garahini*. This is supported by the occurrence of *garaha* meaning "house" in the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapadaya* (*op. cit.*, p. 266). *Gärahini* is the same as Skt. *gṛhiṇī*, and *garaha* is Skt. *gṛha*. These two words thus show the phonological change of *ṛ* to *-ara*. It might be objected that *gärahini* is from P. *ghariṇī* and *garaha* is from *ghara*. To establish such an etymology, a parallel must be shown for the changing of position of the split aspirate.

Ruvanmala (v. 666) gives a word *sarañga* meaning "elephant". This, evidently, is the same as Skt. *śṛṁgin*, "elephant", literally "the tusked one", *śṛṁga* meaning "tusk". Sin. *sarak* "cattle" also is derived from Skt. *śṛṁgin ; śṛṁga*, in this instance, meaning "horn". *Saraka* is thus "the horned one". For the change of *g* to *k*, compare Sin. *Bak* for Skt. *Bhaga*. In the *Ruvanmala*, there is another *sarañga* meaning "sweet-scented";

the word is also found in the compound *sarañga-mal* occurring in *Eḷu Sañdäslakuṇa.* In this instance, *sarañga* has to be equated with Skt. *śṛṁga*, meaning "inciting love", cf. *sṛṁgaṁ hi manmathodbhedaḥ* in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[1] (p. 169). It is the fragrance rather than the colour of flowers that incites sexual desire, and the "love-inciting flower" has taken the secondary meaning of "sweet-scented flower". These etymologies illustrate the change of *ṛ* to *-ara.*

In the *Kōkila-Sandēsa* (v. 188), there is a word *tarappu* meaning "satisfied". It is easy to see its identity with Skt. *tṛpta,* again necessitating the change of *ṛ* to *-ara. Karadara* in the modern colloquial language means "trouble", "difficulty", &c. In meaning, therefore, it is the same as Skt. *kṛcchra,* and there is no valid reason to deny that the one is etymologically connected with the other. Another example for the change of *ṛ* to *-ara.* The word for "neck" is *kara* in Sinhalese. The neck is one of the thinnest parts of the body, and the word denoting it could very well have originated from this fact. In Skt. the word indicating thinness is *kṛśa* which, when we admit the possibility of *ṛ* becoming *-ara-*, could have become **karasa,* giving rise to *kara* through **karaha* and **karā.*

Skt. *bṛhat* is *brahā* in Pali[2]. Here, the *ṛ* has changed to *ra.* In the Girnār edicts of Asoka, the same phonological change is represented in *vrachā* for Skt. *vṛkṣāḥ*[3]. There is no reason to exclude the possibility that there were other forms in Mid. Ind. languages, where this phonetical change had taken place. On this analogy, Skt. *vṛṣala* could have been pronounced as **vrasala* in the Mid. Indian dialect from which Sinhalese originated. By *svarabhakti, *vrasala* could have become **varasala* and then **varahala* and *vaharala.* Compare Skt. *praṇaya* becoming *paraṇa* (*Ruvanmala,* v. 596) in Sinhalese.

W. also states that if the word *vaharala* were derived from *vṛṣala,* there is no explanation of the vowel *-e-* in the first two syllables of the variant forms *veherala* and *veheralaya.* P. has pointed out that, in some places, *vaharala* and its variants, according to the context, should mean "slavery", rather than "slave", and that, in these cases, the possibility is that the form goes back to a secondary derivative of *vṛṣala,* such as *vṛṣalatā* or *vārṣalya.* The last form may not be Paṇinean, but grammatically incorrect forms

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[1] Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1922.

[2] See P. T. S. *Pali Dictionary,* s.v. *braha.*

[3] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka,* p. 3.

must have been frequently in the mouths of the people, and played a great part in the formation of the modern languages. If we posit a form like *vārṣalya,* the question of *ṛ* becoming *-ara-* does not arise ; the *e* in the first two syllables can be explained as due to the influence of *y* in the last syllable, introduced to fill in the hiatus caused by the dropping of *-t-* if we prefer *vṛṣalatā* to *vārṣalya.* Compare *ameti* for Skt. *amātya,*where the *a* has changed to *e* by the influence of the *y* in the succeeding syllable.

W. argues that, if the form with *e* in the first syllable be taken as correct, the forms with *a* in that syllable, which are more numerous, have to be treated as incorrect. Such an argument rests on the assumption that there can be only one correct form of a word, and that, when a word changes from one form to another, that change can follow only one course. In that case, he will have to reject hundreds of words which are well authenticated in Sinhalese. For instance, in Sinhalese literary works alone, there is an absolutive, meaning " having come ", in various forms, such as *avud, avut, ävid, ävit* and *ada.* In the Sīgiri graffiti, there are many more variant forms of this word, all of which are derived from Skt. *āpadya.* Would W. take one alone of these forms as the correct one, and reject all the others as clerical errors ? His procedure, in that case, would be as if he, having seen that young men with the S. S. C. certificate, as a rule, become clerks, would treat an artist with the same educational qualification as an impostor, and an S. S. C. youth who takes to business as a rogue.

After stating, without leaving room for any other possibility, that Skt. *ṛ* becomes *a, i* or *u* in Sinhalese, W. seems to have had some compunctions about the matter, and adds a foot-note in which certain words showing the change of *ṛ* to *-iri, -iru-, -uru-* are dismissed as belonging to an artificial linguistic stratum, " as they are not genuinely derived Sinhalese words, but loans from Skt., artificially Sinhalised by Pandits to suit the Sinhalese phonetic system ". The forms which W. quotes and other similar words may not have belonged to the original vocabulary of Sinhalese and are, comparatively speaking, newcomers ; but, why should they be called artificial ? When a modern Sinhalese pronounces Skt. *mṛdu* as *murudu,* Skt. *ṛju* as *iruju* and Skt. *ghṛta* as *girita,* he is not at all behaving in an artificial manner. On the contrary, he is pronouncing the sound of *ṛ* as his vocal organs are capable of rendering it without making a particular effort; and he is, therefore, behaving quite naturally. Such changes have as much claim to be admitted into Sinhalese phonology as any other changes. And what is the reason for

believing that, in and before the time of the inscriptions in which *vaharala* occurs, such Sanskrit words were not adopted in the way that Sinhalese people could naturally pronounce them ? The adoption of the words was no doubt due to the learned; but the phonological changes undergone by them are due to the efforts made to pronounce them by the average man. If some learned man of the time thought it fit that a slave should be referred to by the Skt. *vṛṣala*, and others, including those who were not learned, followed him, words like *vaharala* could very well have become current. Sanskrit learning was not unknown during this period in Ceylon. In fact, about this time Ceylon produced a great Sanskrit poet.

W. seeks to dismiss *pokuṇa* on the ground that the phonological development exemplified by that word is due to an abnormality caused by the loose pronunciation of ordinary people. One would, therefore, have imagined that he admits phonological changes caused by people who are not ordinary, pronouncing words in a manner which is not loose. Now, pandits are not ordinary people, and pronunciation " to suit the Sinhalese phonetic system " is not " loose pronunciation ". But he wants to dismiss words like *siriṅgara* &c., on the ground that pandits who knew what suited the Sinhalese phonetic system had much to do with them. Thus it appears that, from W.'s point of view, Sinhalese phonology is concerned neither with the pronunciation of the ordinary people, nor with that of people who are not ordinary. It is not concerned with loose pronunciation nor with that which suits the Sinhalese phonetic system. W., however, has left us to guess where we can find this middling type of people whose pronunciation of Sinhalese, though not loose, is not suited to the Sinhalese phonetic system.

The dropping of *ra* within a word, exemplified by *vahal* being derived from *vaharala*, and the change of *-ṛ-* to *-ara-* in Sinhalese, postulated in deriving *vaharala* from *vṛṣala*, are phonological changes not very common in the language. They have, therefore, not come within the ken of those who have formulated " well-established laws of Sinhalese phonology " by examining a very small fraction of the available data and that, too, to suit theories accepted on faith. These " laws " may have their uses, but they, not infrequently, are more of a hindrance than a help to those who wish to understand the ancient documents in Sinhalese.

A rare occurrence does not cease to be an occurrence by reason of its rarity. The fact that it does not occur often does not mean that, when it occurs, it should not be admitted as having occurred. An eclipse of the

sun occurs very seldom; the rising and the setting of the sun occur daily. But an eclipse is as much due to the movement of heavenly bodies as is the rising or the setting of the sun, and no astronomer tries to explain it away as due to a hallucination. A rare occurrence, though it is rare, is capable of being repeated, and one should not come to the conclusion that it would not occur again. A comet, though it appears once in many years, is liable to appear again. Similarly, a phonological change which is noticed in a few words only, or has been noticed in only one word, should not be dismissed as "unlawful", and the possibility of its being noticed in another word, not yet known, should not be discounted. The smug self-satisfaction that "phonological laws" for the ancient Sinhalese language have been established with eternal validity, and with no possibility of amendment, is hardly conducive to the progress of research, though it may be urged as being "scientific".

Of the syntactical objections brought forward by W. against P.'s interpretation of *vaharala*, the first is as follows: The word has been translated "from slavery". As the preposition *from* is associated with the word "slavery" in the English rendering, the word of which it is a translation should be in a syntactical case indicating the idea of separation; but *vaharala* is not so. Therefore, the interpretation of *vaharala* as "slavery" is wrong. The general proposition on which this argument rests is that, when a passage is translated from one language to another, if a particular word in the original does not show the case to which it is rendered in the translation, the meaning given to that word is wrong. A highly original proposition indeed!

Let us apply this novel critical method of W.'s to another ancient document and its translation, and see the results that we obtain. The third rock-edict of Aśoka at Girnār has *prāṇānaṁ sādhu anāraṁbho,* which the great epigraphist Hultzsch has translated: "Abstention from killing animals is meritorious"[1]. The translation *from killing* demands that *anāraṁbho* should be in a syntactical case indicating the idea of separation. The case should have been the ablative; *anāraṁbho* is not in the ablative, but in the nominative. Nowhere do we find the nominative taking the place of the ablative in the Asokan inscriptions. Therefore, Hultzsch's rendering of *anāraṁbho* as "abstention from killing" is wrong. Happily, no one has made such an absurd proposition and gone on a voyage of discovery for an alternative interpretation of *anāraṁbho.* The first of W.'s syntactical

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[1] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 4–5.

objections, based on a fallacious general proposition, is thus demonstrated to be invalid.

The second syntactical objection of W.'s is as follows: *Cidavayaha* and other verbal forms are transitive. In the translation of *vaharala cidavayaha*, &c., by "freed from slavery" there is no word in the original serving as the direct object, and it has been necessary to introduce a word which is not in the original as the object in the translation. Therefore, the interpretation of *vaharala* as "slavery" is wrong. The reader can deduce the general proposition on which such an argument can be based. Let us apply the same method to a passage from the Aśoka inscriptions and its translation by Hultzsch. The fourth rock-edict at Girnār reads: *Putrā ca potrā ca prapotrā ca Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāño pravadhayisaṁti idaṁ dhaṁmacaraṇaṁ āva savaṭa-kapā dhaṁmamhi sīlamhi tis̤ṭaṁto dhammam anusāsisaṁti*[1]. Hultzsch's translation of this passage is: "And the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of king Devānampriya Priyadarśin will promote this practice of morality, until the aeon of destruction (of the world) and will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct[2]. Here, *dhaṁmaṁ anusāsisaṁti* has been translated: "Will instruct (people) in morality". "Instruct" is a transitive verb and, as Hultzsch has translated, there is no direct object to it. He has introduced "people" on his own. The position is exactly similar to that of rendering *vaharala cidavayaha* as "freed (themselves) from slavery". Therefore, if W.'s reasons are valid for the rejection of the interpretation of *vaharala* as "slavery", we must also object to Hultszch's interpretation of *dhaṁma* as "morality". Here, too, the application of W.'s method has resulted in an absurdity.

The fact is that the propriety or otherwise of the case in which a word has been used in a translation has nothing to do with the meaning of the corresponding word in the original. The Sinhalese sentence *ballaṭa gähuva* will be translated "(he) struck the dog". In the original, *ballaṭa* is dative; in the translation, it is accusative. This discrepancy is no reason for a theory that S. *balla* does not mean "dog". Even if one were to translate *gonā-ge* as "from the bull", that is no reason to doubt that *gonā* means "bull". If syntax is made use of in order to ascertain the meaning of a word, it must be the syntax of the original, and not of a translation. For each language has its own peculiarities with regard to syntax, which cannot be exactly

[1] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka* p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

reproduced in another language without being unintelligible. Take, for example, the first passage from the Girnār edict that we have quoted. *Prāṇānaṁ sādhu anāraṁbho,* if translated so as to preserve the syntax of the original, should have been: "Of animals, the non-killing is meritorious". Similarly, to take one of the passages containing the word *vaharala, Siya agana vaharala cidavi* should be translated "of own woman (i.e., wife) the condition of being a slave was made to cease". The purpose of a translation is to make it intelligible in the language into which the translation is made, and such renderings as those we have just given can hardly be called intelligible. The translator, of course, assumes that the reader who is interested more in the original text than in the translation, would be having an elementary knowledge at least of the language of the original.

W.'s objection on the ground of undue straining of the meaning of words associated with *vaharala*, &c., has been partly met in the reply to his objection on syntactical grounds. The word associated with *vaharala,* which he has instanced as having been subjected to undue straining of meaning, is the verb *cidavi,* which P. translates "freed". P.'s translation has to be read with his commentary, wherein he has stated that the literal meaning of the verb *cidavi* (=*sindavi*) is "caused to be broken". "Freed" used in the translation has, therefore, been adopted to suit the English idiom. It is well-known that words acquire different shades of meaning in various contexts.

In order to find out whether a Sinhalese word has been subjected to undue straining of its meaning in being translated into English, it is necessary to ascertain precisely what that meaning is. And W. has developed a very easy method of ascertaining the meanings of Sinhalese words. W.'s method of ascertaining the meaning of a Sinhalese word amounts to this. Find out its etymological equivalent in Sanskrit and Pali, turn over the pages of a Sanskrit dictionary and a Pali dictionary, and attribute to the Sinhalese word the meanings which these dictionaries give to the corresponding Sanskrit or Pali word. The dictum of the *Sidat-saṅgarā* that the criterion by which the form and meaning of a word has to be decided is usage among men of good taste has thus been outmoded!

Principles governing the study of languages have a common basis and, if this method of W.'s is efficacious for Sinhalese, it must be efficacious for other languages as well. Let us see how it works in English. Imagine that we desire to ascertain the meaning of the verb "to aspire", which is easily

seen to be derived from Latin *aspiro*. Now we turn over the pages of a Latin dictionary and learn that *aspiro* means " to breathe ". The meaning of the English word " aspire " must, therefore, be " to breathe ". Any other meaning would be an over-straining and, in translating into Sinhalese an English sentence like " I aspire to be a professor ", it must be rendered by something like *mama mahācāryāyek venṭa husma gannavā.* Again, take the English word " fuss ", which is derived from Anglo-Saxon *fús*, " quick ", " ready ". " Do not make a fuss " has, therefore, to be translated into Sinhalese by *ikman karanna epā* or *lāsti karanna epā.* Any other rendering would be open to the charge of undue straining of meaning. Now, let us take the English noun "bachelor", which, it is patent, is derived from Latin *baccalarius*, of which authoritative dictionaries give the meaning as "the owner of a small farm or a herd of cows ". If the phrase " bachelor of arts " is rendered into Sinhalese, " bachelor " must have an equivalent with that meaning. Otherwise, according to W.'s method, professedly " scientific ", the meaning has been subjected to undue strain.

Results as startling as these we have obtained by applying W.'s principle of ascertaining the meanings of words can be had by applying it to forms of that very verbal root in Sinhalese, a form of which, *cidavayaha,* is said to have been subjected to undue strain by P. *Cidavayaha* is, of course, a form of a root derived from the Sanskrit *chid,* and W. takes objection to any rendering of a Sinhalese verb traceable to that root with a meaning not given for it in Sanskrit and Pali dictionaries. The meanings he triumphantly trots out from Monier-Williams and the P. T. S. Dictionary for *chid* are " cut off ", " cut through ", " chop ", " hew ", " split ", " destroy ", " remove ". Let us take a Sinhalese verbal form traceable to *chid* and see the results by not going beyond any of the above meanings.

We have the *bahuvrīhi* compound *chinna-bhatta* in Pali, the equivalent of which is *sun-bat* in Sinhalese. The word is used to denote a person who has been forced to go without his meal. Applying W.'s method, the only legitimate way of rendering this word into English would be one of the following, if undue straining of meaning is to be avoided : " one who has cut off his meal ", " one who has cut through his meal ", " one who has chopped his meal", "one who has hewn his meal", "one who has split his meal", " one who has destroyed his meal ", or " one who has removed his meal ". As none of these gives any sense, if one follows W.'s methods, one has to come to the conclusion that *bhatta* does not mean " meal ". It is precisely for such reasons that he wants to reject the meaning of *vaharala* as " slave ".

Again, in the *Butsaraṇa*[1], we have the sentence *edā siňdunu väsi siňdini mä yä*. *Siňdunu* and *siňdini* are preterite forms of the Sinhalese verbal root corresponding to Skt. *chid* and, according to W.'s method, it must be rendered by one of the meanings extracted from Monier-Williams or the P. T. S. Dictionary, if *väsi* has to be taken to mean "rain". If any of the meanings are not appropriate, *väsi* does not mean "rain", and one has to go in search of a new meaning for it. Now, the rendering of *siňdunu väsi*, not subject to undue strain in the meaning, according to W.'s method, would be one of the following: "the rain which was cut off", "the rain which was cut through", "the rain which was chopped", "the rain which was hewn", "the rain which was split", "the rain which was destroyed", or "the rain which was removed". There obviously is no alternative for W. but to discard the meaning of "rain" for *väsi*, and go in search of another.

In Pali, we have *vassa-cheda* and *chinna-vassa*,[2] in which *cheda* and *chinna*, from the root *chid*, have been compounded with *vassa*, "the retreat during the rainy season". Every meaning that W., on the authority of Monier-Williams and the P. T. S. Dictionary, approves for *chid*, when taken in conjunction with the known meaning of *vassa*, would result in gibberish. W. would be compelled to undertake a search for a new meaning for P. *vassa*, if he would remain true to his newly found principle for the ascertainment of the meanings of words. Similar is the case with *pacchijjati* occurring in the phrase *deve vassante valāhakesu vigata-mattesu sotaṁ pacchijjati*[3]. To take another example from Sinhalese literature: The absolutive in the reflexive voice of the root *siňdi* (=Skt. *chid*) occurring as *siňdī* in the passage, *Tamā siňdī da sasara pamaṇin siyalu-lovaṭa siyalu upadrava vädda ňo dī rakaval vä siṭi Budun* in the *Butsarana*[4] would give no sense in its context if we restrict it to the meanings approved by W. on the authority of Monier-Williams and the P. T. S. Dictionary. Here, it is stated that the Buddha stands as a protection to the whole world, throughout the *saṁsāra*, preventing all dangers, though the Buddha Himself is in a condition described as *tamā siňdī da*.

According to W., the condition of the Buddha envisaged in this passage will have to be put into English in one of the following ways: "though being

[1] Edited by Bhadanta Sorata, Nāyaka Thera, Colombo, 1931, p. 57.

[2] *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S. Edition, pp. 1070–1.

[3] See *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S. Edition, p. 1037.

[4] *Op. cit*, p. 264.

himself cut off", "cut through", "chopped", "hewn", "split", "destroyed" or "removed". It would hardly be edifying to describe the Buddha, the protector of the world, by one of these phrases. Lastly, we have this verb in the modern spoken language as *hiňdinava.* To take a phrase in which the verb is frequently used, *tel hiňdinava,* W.'s method would necessitate its rendering by one of the following ways: "cut off oil", "cut through oil", "chop oil", "hew oil", "split oil", "destroy oil" or "remove oil". Any one with the least knowledge of Sinhalese need not be told that the phrase *tel hiňdinava* does not mean any of these. Even in Sanskrit, there are places in which forms of the root *chid* are used in a meaning different from those to which W. would restrict us. In the *Kādambarī* (Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, p. 28) we come across the phrase *nāḍikāccheda-prahata paṭu-paṭaha-nādānusārī.* The commentator explains *cheda* as *parisamāpti,* "cessation".

Enough has been said to demonstrate the absurdity of W.'s method of not admitting for a Sinhalese word any meaning that is not attached to its etymological equivalent in Sanskrit or Pali. Such a principle rests on the assumption that the meanings of words had been fixed for ever, with no possibility of alteration, some three thousand years ago. To posit that a Sinhalese word does not denote any meaning which is not attached to its Sanskrit or Pali original is the same as stating that the Sinhalese language has always been tied to the apron strings of these two languages, and that it never enjoyed freedom of expression. W.'s method of ascertaining the meaning of *cidavi* and *cidavayaha* being thus found to be fallacious, his charge that P. has overstrained their meanings falls to the ground.

W. objects to P.'s rendering of *cidavi* by "freed", on the ground that verbal forms from the root *chid* are not found with that meaning. In the passage from the *Butsarana* quoted above, a verbal form traceable to the root *chid* has actually been used with that meaning. In fact, from its original meaning of "cutting", "breaking", the root has developed secondary meanings of various types. "Cutting" results in separation; so, in such usages as *tel hiňdinava,* the verb means to separate oil from a substance, i.e., to extract oil. Breaking the continuity is ceasing, and *siňdunu väsi* thus means "the rain which ceased". The change of the meanings of words in this manner is a phenomenon well-known to students of languages.

In addition to the literal use of forms of *chid,* there are also their figurative uses. When one speaks of cutting or severing a bondage, literal or metaphorical, one can quite appropriately use any verbal form derived from

chid. Cutting a bondage is "freeing". Compare, for example, the following verse from the *Dhammapada* :[1]

Etaṁ daḷhaṁ bandhanam āhu dhīrā
Ohārinaṁ sithilaṁ duppamuñcaṁ
Etam pi chetvāna paribbajanti
Anapekkhino kāmasukhaṁ pahāya

The first two lines of this verse refer to bonds from which it is extremely difficult to free oneself. The other two lines state the antithesis, to the effect that there are people who free themselves even from such bonds. But the verb used in the second half is not a form of the root *muc*, but one of *chid* : *etam pi chetvāna*, "having sundered even this (type of bondage)". It will thus be seen that verbal forms derived from *chid* do in fact convey the idea of "freeing" in accordance with the context. In Pali, we have also expressions like : *paḷibodho chijjati*. *Paḷibodha* is "obstacle" or "hindrance", and the action expressed by *chijjati* (a form of *chid*) is tantamount to "freeing oneself".

In Sinhalese also we have such phrases like *pav-mitu sasaga siňda kalaṇa mit sasaga ris vū*[2], where *siňda*, the absolutive of the root corresponding to *chid*, expresses the idea of freeing oneself, i.e., from association with bad friends. Now, slavery is undoubtedly a bondage, and the action of causing that bondage to cease can very well be expressed by a verb derived from *chid*. What is the severance of a bondage if it is not "freeing" ? After these remarks, the naive observation of W. that "neither in Sanskrit nor in Pali has it (*chid*) ever been used in the sense of liberating some one" requires no further comment.

W. objects to P.'s translation of *agana* as "wife", by taking it to be equivalent to classical Sinhalese *aňgana*, on the ground that the latter is a poetical word. The fact that a particular word is found only in poetical works during a certain period does not necessarily mean that the prototype of that word in an earlier period was also confined in use to poetry. It is well-known to students of languages that words which were in common use in one period have become obsolete, but continue to be used in poetry. What particular words were restricted in use to poetry in the period of the inscriptions which contain *vaharala* cannot be determined, for the simple reason that we have

[1] P. T. S. Edition, 346, p. 50.
[2] *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā gāṭapadaya*, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1933, p. 12. I am indebted to Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera for drawing my attention to this passage.

no poetry and very little prose dating from that period. Even if we take *agana* to be poetic, what objection can there be to an ordinary man of that period referring to his wife by a poetic word ? In the period of the Sīgiri graffiti, the word in current use to denote "wife" was *ambu*, meaning "little mother". Is that not poetic ? Even today, many of the words by which the average man refers to his wife in Sinhalese are indeed as poetic as *aňgana*. Compare *gedara ätto*, "she who owns the house". What can be more poetic than this ?

Whether *agana* is a poetic word and whether it has ever been used in the sense of "wife" has no bearing on the validity of the interpretation of *vaharala* as "slave". But there is hardly any word meaning "woman" in Sinhalese, which also does not mean "wife". Among the synonyms for "woman" given in the *Ruvanmala* are several, such as *soňduru* (Skt. *sundarī*), *biri* (Skt. *bhāryā*), *kat* (Skt. *kāntā*), *piyatama* (Skt. *priyatamā*), *kal* (Skt. *kalyā*), *piya* (Skt. *priyā*), &c., in addition to *aňgana* which, according to the context, may mean "woman" in general or "wife".

With regard to W.'s contention that *siya* is superfluous, and that *agana* alone, without it, would mean "wife", the inclusion of the word excluded others' wives. If *siya* is superfluous, *ma*, "this", is also superfluous. For, in a number of documents, the phrase *pala-sava satanaṭa* occurs without *ma* preceding *pala*.

W. finds it difficult to see how the same form *vaharala*, &c., can be interpreted in four different ways in different contexts as "slave", "slaves", "of slaves" and "from slavery". This is one of his reasons for rejecting the interpretation of the word as "slave" or "slavery". The preposition *from* has already been dealt with in dealing with the syntactical objections. The necessity for the preposition *of* is also syntactical and will become apparent in the course of the discussion in the sequel. The different ways in which the word has been rendered by P., therefore, rest on two grammatical distinctions shown without differentiation of form. The first of these is that a Sinhalese word in the same form is in one context taken as a common noun (slave) and in another as an abstract noun (slavery). The second is that the same form is in one context interpreted into English by a word in the singular number, while in another it is in the plural number. W. confesses that it is difficult for him to understand how such a state of affairs is possible. We are sorry to have to add to his difficulties by quoting, from a well-known Sinhalese text, a number of passages in which a very common word has been used in such a manner that it has to be translated into English, just as P.

has translated *vaharala*, sometimes as a common noun, sometimes as an abstract noun, now in the singular and again in the plural number. The word is *raja*, of which one is certain of the meaning, and the passages are taken from the *Amāvatura.*

I. Raja sivu vē gevā dat Bamuṇan susäṭa denekun genvā genä (p. 6).[1]
II. Mama raja no kämättemi (p. 11).
III. Kaliṅgu-raṭa Nāḷikīra nam rajakʰhu raja karana kalhi (p. 38).
IV. Rupu-raja-senaṅga . . . . biṅda luhubäṅdä piyā (p. 3).

Now, in the extract I, *raja* means "king" just as *vaharala* in some contexts means "slave". Extract II is given as uttered by Prince Siddhārtha when the Evil One came and tempted him with universal sovereignty. The word *raja* in that context is "sovereignty", i.e., kingship. The whole sentence has to be translated, "I do not desire sovereignty". In extract III, *raja-karana kalhi* has obviously to be translated "when . . . . reigning". In II and III, *raja* is an abstract noun, just as *vaharala,* meaning "slavery", is in some of the contexts. In extract IV, the reference is to the feat performed by the Bodhisattva in the Ummagga Jātaka, &c., in routing the assembled hosts of a number of kings. *Rupu-raja senaga* has, therefore, to be translated as "armies of enemy kings". Here *raja* means "of kings" just as *vaharala* in some contexts has been rendered into English by "of slaves". The position is exactly similar to the necessity of translating *vaharala* in four different ways. Now, W.'s method would necessitate the rejection of the meaning of "king" attached to *raja*, for it will be difficult for him to understand why *raja* in various places is translated differently. If, on the other hand, we, in order to please W., adhere to one rendering of the word *raja* in every place, the phrase *raja-karana kalhi* has to be translated "in the time of king doing", *mama raja no kämättemi* "I do not desire king" and *rupu-raja senaga* "enemy king army". Such renderings, it is unnecessary to say, are nonsensical. Similarly, a compound word like *raja-tän-pat,* will have to be rendered into English as "king-place-arrived".

It is not even necessary to go to the classics to add to W.'s difficulties. The use of the same form of the word with distinction in meaning is very common in modern Sinhalese speech. Take, for example, a phrase like *diga redda,* "a long cloth", and contrast it with *redde diga,* "the length of the cloth".

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[1] The page references are to the edition by Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera,

In these two phrases, *diga* in the first means "long"; the same *diga*, with no alteration in form, means "length", just as *vaharala* in one place means "slave" and in another "slavery". The words, *usa*, *mahata* and *paḷala*, can also be similarly used to mean "high", "great", "broad" as well as "height", "greatness" and "breadth". *Mahata* in the sense of greatness occurs in the *Dahamsaraṇa*. Instances of such difficulties can be multiplied so that W. will find them overwhelming.

Any one with even an elementary knowledge of Sinhalese will comprehend the distinction in meaning between *raja* in Extract I and the same word in II and III. Similarly, the distinction in meaning of *diga*, *mahata*, &c., in various contexts will be understood without difficulty by any one who speaks Sinhalese. And the distinction in meaning of *vaharala* in various contexts is precisely similar.

Now to solve W.'s difficulty. The fact that a Sinhalese word occurring in the same form has to be rendered into English in more than one way is due to two grammatical characteristics of the Sinhalese language. The first of these, referred to in the *Sidat-sañgarā* by the term *abē-uvasara* (Skt. *abhedopacāra*), is the capacity which the language possesses of using a substantive without any change in form as a secondary derivative. For example, *diḷiňdu* (Skt. *daridra*), often occurs as an adjective meaning "poor". But, in *Kavsiḷumiṇa*, v. 335, we have *muḷu-lō diḷiňdu maḍanā*[1], where *diḷindu* means "poverty", and is equivalent to Skt. *dāridrya*. In Extract No. I, quoted above, from the *Amāvatura*, *raja* is equivalent to Skt. *rājā*, but *raja* in II and III is the same as Skt. *rājya*, P. *rajja*. This similarity of grammatically distinct forms may be historically explained by the working of different phonological processes. In origin they are no doubt distinct; but, at a given period of time, as written down, they do not show any difference. *Vaharala*, &c., therefore, means "slave" as well as "slavery" for the same reason that *raja* means "king" as well as "kingdom", "sovereignty", "kingship", "royal state", &c., and *diliňdu* means "poor" as well as "poverty".

The second grammatical characteristic is the power of forming compounds which Sinhalese possesses to a much greater degree than English. The first member of a compound is always in the stem form and may express, without any inflexion, i.e., change of form, all the relationships expressed by the oblique cases. The preposition "of" before "slaves" is thus explained. The

[1] I am indebted to Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera for drawing my attention to this passage.

phrase *vaharala vaṭa* can be taken as a compound of the *tat-puruṣa* class and, when it is analysed, *vaharala* has to be treated as if it were in the genitive plural. *Vaharala-vaṭa* would then have to be translated "the maintenance of slaves", just as the compound *an-raja-mudun* is translated "heads of other kings". In both cases, what is in the stem form has to be treated in the translation as if it were in the genitive plural.

There is another possible way of looking at *vaharala* in the phrase *vaharala-vaṭa*. In the Galapāta-vihāra inscription, we read *me vihārayaṭa hā me vihārayehi väḍa hiňdina vahansevarundǟṭa at-pā-mehe karana paritden apa anvayāgata vahalin hā ran-vahalin hā me vihārayehi muňdu-karaňḍuyen ran dī lā genä lū*[1]. Following this is a list of over a score of slaves who, it is clear from the context, were selected from the categories called *anvayāgata-vahala* and *ran-vahala*, corresponding respectively to the two classes of slaves called *anto-jāta* and *dhanak-kīta* in Pali writings. As a number of slaves were selected from each of these two categories, the terms must have meant a group of several slaves; and, in translating it into English, it would be misleading to use the word in the singular number. But the words themselves are in the instrumental singular, a case which is applicable in Sinhalese to *dravya* nouns only. *Vaharala* and *vahal* followed by *vaṭa* have precisely the same grammatical significance.

It is well-known that every language has its own peculiarities as regards number, and in translating one language into another, the exact form cannot be reproduced if the sense has to be conveyed. In studying the syntax as well as the grammar of Sinhalese, it is necessary to take the original Sinhalese into consideration, and not the translation into English, as W. has done in this case.

We now come to W.'s objection on the ground of "inappropriateness of the interpretation to the context" which, when treated in detail, is referred to as "objection based on ideological grounds". To quote W.'s words: "The institution of slavery in a Buddhist monastery for the purpose of gaining merit which the donors wish to share with all beings, side by side with their emancipation from the service of the monasteries on the payment of a sum of money to the monastery for the same end of acquiring merit to be shared with all beings, sounds rather paradoxical and queer. This is particularly

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 206.

so in the light of the principles of Buddhist teachings and practices, in spite of the explanations given by Paranavitana". It certainly is queer, as W. puts it. The word "their" in his sentence can only refer to "donors" or "all beings" which precede it, for there is no other word preceding "their" in the plural number in the sentence. The emancipation of "donors" or "all beings" from the service of the monasteries for the end of acquiring merit, whether it stood side by side with something else or not, is certainly queer; but that is a bogey raised by W., not justified by anything written by P. or contained in the inscriptions in which *vaharala* occurs.

Should W. say that what was in his mind when he wrote "their emancipation" was the "emancipation of slaves" and not the "emancipation of donors" or "of all beings", as the grammatical analysis of his sentence would demand us to take it, we are sufficiently charitable to accept that position. Any other explanation would increase his difficulties, and we continue the discussion, allowing him the most advantageous position that can be conceded to him. On this interpretation of "their", what W. characterises as paradoxical and queer is not the institution of slavery in a monastery taken by itself, but its existence side by side with the emancipation of slaves, both serving the same end of acquiring merit. Had the institution of slavery existed as a means of gaining merit without the practice of "their emancipation", there would have been, according to W., nothing queer or paradoxical about it, "particularly so in the light of the principles of Buddhist teachings and practices". There would also have been no paradox if there had been the emancipation of slaves, for the sake of gaining merit, without the institution of slavery for gaining merit. W. nowhere states that the institution of slavery itself was against the principles of Buddhist teachings and practices. As W. puts it, Buddhist teachings and practices are against a slave obtaining his freedom!

But is the position so queer, if some people in mediaeval times made grants of slaves to a monastery to acquire merit, and other people liberated slaves in monasteries to acquire merit? These two acts were not by the same individual, and different people could have had different views on the matter. The "principles of Buddhist teachings and practices" were not exactly the same in the Abhayagiri Vihāra as they were in the Mahāvihāra. Even the same individual might at one time have been an adherent of one view and at another of a different view. To take an analogous case, there are some Buddhists, the majority, I believe, who do not see anything sinful

in eating meat, subject to certain conditions, and give *dāna* with meat dishes. There are others who think that meat-eating is sinful and liberate animals meant for slaughter. The same individual may be, at one time, of one view with regard to this, and of a different view at another. Now, if we come across a document which states that a certain individual gave rice with mutton curry to a *bhikkhu* and wishes all beings to partake in that merit, and another document wherein it is recorded that a person set free a goat intended for slaughter, and gave the merit so acquired to all beings, the position is as paradoxical and as queer as that of slavery in W.'s sentences quoted above. W. would have justification, in such a case, to reject the meaning of "goat" attributed to *eḷu*, occurring in the two documents, and for going in search of evidence to establish that *eḷu* means anything else but "goat".

W. concludes his reasoning in this section with the remarkable sentence: "There appears to be an obvious ideological contradiction in a group of people regarding that slavery in a Buddhist monastery is a good thing worthy of support and at the same time that it is a bad thing that should be removed". Apparently, "the group of people who regarded slavery in a Buddhist monastery as a good thing worthy of support" are those who granted money for the purchase of slaves; those who regarded it as a bad thing are the persons who bought their own or others' freedom. What reason has W. to take that these two sets of people belonged to the same group? Again, when a person granted money to a monastery to buy slaves, does that imply that that person necessarily considered slavery in a Buddhist monastery as a good thing worthy of support? We have recorded instances of people depositing grain with corporations so that certain religious observances might be continued with the interest which, in modern times, would be called usurious. According to W.'s arguments, this means that these people considered usury to be a good thing worthy of support. Should any one redeem a mortgaged land belonging to a monastery, that would be, according to W., a condemnation of mortgaging property as a bad thing. The fact is that, in these cases, the question whether slavery, usury, or mortgaging, in the abstract, is good or bad does not arise. People have made use of existing institutions in order to make provision for certain needs in the monasteries.

When W. says that the interpretation of *vaharala* as "slave" presents a picture which is ideologically incongruous, he does not say on whose ideology he has judged. In judging the past, we have to do so on the ideology of the

people of those days and, in the present instance, of the ideology which governed the practice of having slaves in Buddhist monasteries. Had W. referred to the words of a writer who himself lived at the orthodox Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura, whose word has been the law for a millennium and half on matters of Buddhist monastic principle and practice, and who was himself at least as concerned as W. about the principles of Buddhist teaching, and, in addition, referred to other authorities giving details with regard to the type of slavery which prevailed in ancient India and Ceylon, which by the way was a far milder form of servitude than that against which the English Liberals successfully fought in the last century, the picture presented by P.'s translation of the inscriptions in question would not have appeared in any way as queer or paradoxical or incongruous.

I refer to Buddhaghosa, and this is what that great commentator has to say: *Vihāresu rājūhi ārāmika-dāsā nāma dinnā honti, te 'pi pabbājetuṁ na vaṭṭati. Bhujisse katvā pabbājetuṁ vaṭṭati. Mahāpaccariyaṁ antojāta-dhanakkītake ānetvā bhikkhu-saṁghassa ārāmike demā'ti denti, takkaṁ sīse āsittaka-sadisā'va honti pabbājetuṁ vaṭṭtatī'ti vuttaṁ. Kurundiyaṁ pana ārāmikaṁ demā'ti kappiya-vohārena denti yena kena ci vohārena dinno hotu n'eva pabbājetabbo'ti vuttaṁ. Duggata-manussā saṅghaṁ nissāya jīvissāmā'ti vihāre kappiyakārakā honti, ete pabbājetuṁ vaṭṭati . . . . Bhikkhussa ñātakā vā upaṭṭhākā vā dāsaṁ denti imaṁ pabbājetha tumhākaṁ veyyāvaccaṁ karissatī'ti attano vā assa dāso atthi, bhujisso kato va pabbājetabbo. Sāmikā dāsaṁ denti, imaṁ pabbājetha sa ce sāsane abhiramissati adāso vibbhamissati na ce amhākaṁ dāso va bhavissatī'ti, ayaṁ tāvakāliko nāma taṁ pabbājetuṁ na vaṭṭatī'ti. Kurundiyaṁ vuttaṁ. Nissāmika-dāso hoti so'pi bhujisso kato va pabbājetabbo. Ajānanto pabbājetvā vā upasampādetvā vā pacchā jānāti bhujissaṁ kātuṁ eva vaṭṭati*[1].

"There are in monasteries slaves called monastery-slaves granted by kings; it is not proper to admit them also to the Order. If they are manumitted, it is proper to admit them to the Order. In the *Mahāpaccarī*, it is stated that people bring slaves born in their houses or slaves that have been purchased, and grant them, stating: 'We give park-keepers to the community of monks'. Then they become as if butter-milk has been poured on their heads[2]: it is proper that they be admitted to the Order. It

[1] *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S. Edition, p. 1001. I am indebted to Bhadanta Sorata Nayaka Thera for drawing my attention to this passage.

[2] This appears to be a formality observed in the manumission of a slave.

is stated in the *Kurundī* that they give a slave in a permissible manner, stating 'we give park-keepers'. According to whatever custom the slave has been given, he certainly should not be admitted to the Order. Destitute men, in order to live by the help of the community of monks, become servitors in monasteries: they may be admitted to the Order. Relatives or patrons (of monks) at times give a slave to a *bhikkhu*, saying, 'Let this person be admitted to the Order, he will serve you'. Or of a *bhikkhu*, there is his own slave, such a slave should be admitted to the Order only after having manumitted him. Masters of slaves sometimes give a slave to a *bhikkhu*, saying, 'Let this person be admitted to the Order, should he take delight in the religious life, he will become free, if not, he will revert to us as a slave'. Such a person is called a temporary one; he should not be admitted to the Order. So it is stated in the *Kurundī*. Should there be a slave without a master, even he should be manumitted before being admitted to the Order. Should a slave be admitted to the Order, or given the higher ordination without being aware that he is a slave, he should be manumitted when the fact becomes known".

Such are the various ways in which monasteries came to possess slaves, and the rules to be observed in the event of their being admitted to the Order. Buddhaghosa must have given a picture of the conditions which obtained as regards this matter in the Mahāvihāra. Kings granted slaves to monasteries, not for anything else but to obtain merit. The person who gave thousand *kahāpaṇas* to the Abhayagiri Vihāra to provide slaves followed the examples of kings who, according to Buddhaghosa, granted slaves to monasteries. Giving money to purchase slaves is the same as granting slaves. Today there are Buddhists who give books to monks; others give money to purchase books. The slaves in the monastery ministered to the needs of the monks who were thus enabled, without anxiety about material needs, to lead a life of contemplation or study. In other words, the gift of slaves helped to maintain the *saṅgha* which, of course, is meritorious.

Some of these slaves themselves evidently desired to be admitted to the Order. Before they could be admitted, they had to obtain their freedom and, if any pious person caused the manumission of a slave, enabling him to follow the life of a monk, that person also benefited the *saṅgha*. Thus, the person who granted money for the purchase of slaves in a monastery, and the other who gave the money necessary for the manumission of one of these slaves, each in his own way, contributed to the same end—the continuance of the *saṅgha*. There is thus no contradiction in both of them

claiming merit and sharing it with fellow-beings. Even if there was no question of the manumitted slave entering the Order, to cause a human being to be free may be considered a meritorious deed.

Having thus demonstrated the invalidity of every reason adduced by W. to reject P.'s interpretation of *vaharala,* we now proceed to give some thought to W.'s own interpretation of the word as "wood". This is done by equating *vaharala* and its variant forms with a hypothetical Skt. *visāra-la.* In support, W. quotes the meaning of "wood" and "timber" given by Monier-Williams to *visāra.* For *visāra* to be taken as the origin of a word supposed to mean "wood" or "timber" occurring in Sinhalese inscriptions of about the fifth century, the former word must be proved to have existed in Sanskrit or a cognate language with that meaning at the same, or a prior, date. The only way that this can be done is by referring to a document or lexicon of sufficient antiquity in which the word occurs in that meaning.

True enough, Monier-Williams gives the meaning of "wood" and "timber" to *visāra.* But any one who is at home in Sanskrit would feel suspicious of *visāra* meaning "wood" or "timber" and, without meaning any disrespect to Monier-Williams, would like to have his authority supported by a native source. In the first edition of his well-known Dictionary, Monier-Williams has rarely quoted authority for the meanings he has given for words. But that great Sanskritist did not rest content with the achievement in the first edition of his Dictionary. He worked for nearly three decades more, and brought out an improved edition, published only after his death. In the third edition, authority is quoted for the meanings of words—except in the case of those which are of very common occurrence. We look up this edition under *visāra,* and come across the meaning "timber", "wood", and the authority is given as W. What this means, we learn from Monier-Williams' Introduction (pp. xxx-xxxi) to the Third Edition. These are his words :

"Nor need I repeat the expression of my sense of obligation to my predecessor in the Boden Chair, Professor H. H. Wilson, who first led me to the study of Sanskrit about sixty years ago (in 1839) and furnished me with my first materials for an entirely new system of Sanskrit lexicography (see p. xi). All the words and meanings marked W. in the following pages in the present work rest on his authority. Nevertheless, sincerity obliges me to confess that, during my long literary career, my mind has had to pass through a kind of painful discipline, involving a gradual weakening of faith in the trustworthiness of my fellow men, not excepting that of my

first venerated teacher. I began my studies, indeed, with much confidence in the thought that one man existed on whom I could lean as an almost infallible guide; but as I grew a little wiser and my sensitiveness to error sharpened, I discovered to my surprise that I was compelled to reject much of his teaching as doubtful. Nay, I am constrained to confess that, as I advanced further on the path of knowledge, my trustfulness in others besides my old master, experienced by degrees a series of disagreeable and unexpected shocks; till now, that I have arrived at nearly the end of my journey, I find myself left with my faith in the accuracy of human beings generally—and certainly not excepting myself—somewhat distressingly disturbed".

Wilson's Dictionary was compiled at a time when the study of Sanskrit among European scholars was in its infancy. Very few Sanskrit texts had been critically or otherwise edited at that time. He had to depend on pandits whose point of view was different from his. He could even have mis-heard what his pandits had to say. It is, therefore, not derogatory to his memory to say that many spurious words could have crept into his Dictionary. Monier-Williams, when he revised his own Dictionary, could not, of course, altogether discard those words in Wilson's which he could not trace in literary works, for he could not be absolutely certain that they were non-existent. He, therefore, rightly included them in his Dictionary, but has given a very effective warning about the nature of the words and meanings which rest on the sole authority of Wilson. He would never have dreamt that words or meanings of this category would be relied upon as authoritative in the interpretation of obscure words in Sinhalese inscriptions and that, too, by those who pride in their "scientific" methods. The conscientious Monier-Williams must be turning in his grave!

Most of the words given by Monier-Williams on the sole authority of Wilson have a suspicious character. Some such words are *dodulyamāna*, *dhammala*, *nabhi*, *parijvan*, *upa-yantra*, *kalli* and *cali*. Unless W. was out on what Sanskrit logicians call an *iṣṭasādhana* (proving what one wishes to prove), it was incumbent on him to ascertain whether a word *visāra*, meaning "wood" or "timber", is actually found in Sanskrit. Until he does so, his theory of *vaharala* being derived from **visāra-la* must be regarded as having no more secure basis than a house built on quick-sand.

Once the foundations of a building have been undermined, it is not necessary to demolish separately its walls, pillars, &c. Similarly, the

undermining of the basis of W.'s theory makes it unnecessary to demonstrate its other unacceptable details. Nevertheless, attention is drawn to one or two of them.

According to W., *cidavi* means "caused to be cut", the object being *vaharala*, which W. takes to mean "wood" or "timber". In Sanskrit and Pali, forms of the root *chid* are used in the meaning of felling trees; but we are not aware of any context in which such forms are used to indicate other operations necessary to prepare the wood of a tree for architectural purposes, or the making of furniture. In Pali, forms of the verbs *taccheti* and *koṭṭeti* are used to indicate such meanings. In Sinhalese, forms of the root *sindi*, corresponding to Skt. *chid*, are not found, so far as we are aware, to denote the felling of trees. The verbal root used for the purpose is *kapa* which, when compared with Skt. *kḷp*, shows that it has undergone a semantic change. In the Mihintale tablets attributed to Mahinda IV, for example, we have *gas-kol no käpiya yutu*[1]. In the earliest preserved literary works, too, *siňdi* is not used in the sense of felling trees. As today, in the mediaeval inscriptions as well as in literature, forms of *siňdi* are used to denote the meaning of "breaking", "plucking" or "nipping with the fingers". Compare the phrase, *doho-at'hi-bad nuhusu vū välanosindna pämäṇi* in the "Jetavanārāma" Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV[2]. The appropriate verbs in Sinhalese for the operations necessary to convert a tree into architectural features may be gathered from the following passage in the *Amāvatura*[3]: *ohu . . . . galpātaṭa gos ruk kapā däva säsa ē ē geṭa nisi koṭa*, &c. In semastological matters, the Sinhalese language of the sixth and seventh centuries is more likely to have corresponded to the usages observed in its direct descendants of the tenth and twelfth centuries, rather than to Sanskrit or Pali, from neither of which it is possible to establish that Sinhalese was directly derived.

In two of the Vessagiri inscriptions, there are the words *daruyana* and *daruya*, which also are taken to mean logs (another way of referring to "timber" or "wood") by W. These are taken by him to be the object of *cidavi* in these records, whereas in all the other documents, that function is performed by *vaharala* and its variants. The result is that, in these two

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 93.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 237. Wickramasinghe erroneously reads *pälä* for *väla*.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

records, there are two words meaning the same thing, against the character of economical phrasing which W. admits in these documents, and on which ground he objects to *siya* being translated as "own". He is thus forced to take *vaharala* in these documents as serving a purpose quite different from that it has in the other documents and takes it with *pala*, translating "merit of timber". Why is it that these two documents alone record it that "logs" instead of "wood" were cut, and particularly mention that the merit was in the timber ? Why did the writers of the other documents fail to realise that it was the timber that had earned the merit by submitting itself to the operation of cutting ?

No. 5. ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF DĀṬHOPATISSA NEAR DAKKHIṆA-THŪPA, ANURĀDHAPURA

BY S. PARANAVITANA

THIS inscription, discovered in 1949, is engraved on a solitary boulder of stone, cubical in shape, found in a garden, at a distance of about 300 yards to the south-east of the eastern base of the Dakkhiṇa Thūpa at Anurādhapura[1]. It is engraved on the northern face of the boulder, the first line extending for about 8 in. to the western face. In all, there are four lines of writing, the first 4 ft. 11 in., the second 4 ft., the third 3 ft. 11 in. and the fourth 9 in. in length. The letters are clearly incised and vary between $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation.

Had this inscription been not dated in a regnal year, which, as will be shown in the sequel, falls within the narrow limits of a decade in the middle of the seventh century, its script, judged by the degree of development undergone by the majority of the individual letters, would have been attributed to the fourth century, or even somewhat earlier. Letters like *a, ka, ṭa, ca, ta, pa, ma, va* and *sa* are almost identical in form with those in the "Vessagiri" rock inscription of Sirināga II, and the Tiṁbirivāva rock

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[1] For a brief notice of this record, see *A. S. C. A. R.* for 1949, p. 32.

inscription of Goṭhābhaya.[1] In other letters like *ṇa*, *ra*, *ja*, *da* and *ḷa*, there has been development when compared with those of the two records taken for comparison; but, except in the case of *ḷa*, this development has been towards cursive forms, and not in the direction leading to the types of these letters found in records of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Now, if we compare the **script** of this document with that of the datable epigraph which follows next to it among the inscriptions so far published—the Gäraṇḍigala rock inscription of Kassapa III, which was indited not more than seventy years later—we shall find that the forms of almost all the letters in the later record differ widely from the corresponding ones in the earlier. Compare, for example, *va*, *sa*, *ha* and *ṇa* in the Gäraṇḍigala inscription with those in our record. In the Nāgirikanda rock-inscription of Kumāradāsa[2], which is more than a hundred years earlier in date than our record, and in a number of unpublished epigraphs belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries, the development in the forms of letters like *ma*, *sa*, etc., is towards those found in the Gäraṇḍigala and later documents. The scribe who indited our record is thus clearly seen to have been a conservative in the matter of writing. The paucity of dated documents during this period precludes us from ascertaining whether this was a general trait among scribes at that time, but there is no doubt that a more developed script existed side by side with that which preferred archaic forms, and it was this script, which had no aversion to innovations, but which perhaps was treated with a certain amount of suspicion by the dignitaries of the church as well as by officials at the royal court, that finally prevailed, and formed the basis for further development, resulting in the modern Sinhalese script.

Certain words and phrases in our record, e.g., *asanaka pati* and *jina-paḍa sataraya*, are reminiscent of the documents of the second and third centuries, but conservatism is easier to practise with regard to the script than with **language,** which becomes purposeless if it is not understood by those to whom it is addressed. Consequently, we find considerable phonetic development in certain words when they are compared with the corresponding forms of the second or third century documents. In *mataka* for *me-vataka*[3], *navama* for *nava-kama*[4] and *maha-pavaṭa* for *maha-paka-vaṭa*[5], we have

[1] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, plate 22.
[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, plate 11.
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 178 and 186.
[4] This word occurs in an unpublished inscription from Mīnvila in the Tamankaḍuva District.
[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

examples of an intervocalic weak consonant dropping, the two similar vowels thus brought together coalescing into the long and the latter itself shortening. In the forms *mataka*, *navama* and *pavaṭa*, phonetic decay has been carried to a stage further than that represented in the language of the eighth and ninth centuries, and that in Sinhalese classical idiom, for in these the corresponding forms actually met with are *mē-tāk*, *navām*[1] and *mahapāvaṭa*[2]. An original *ṇ* has changed to *n* in *jina* and *parivana*. The dropping of medial or final vowels is not exemplified in our record. The change of a Middle Indian *ṭ* to *ḷ*, through *ḍ*, is represented in *daḷa* for P. *dāṭhā* (in the proper name Daḷapatisa). It is noteworthy that the language of our record has preserved the *c*, in places where it had not changed to *j*; the change of *c* to *s* had not yet begun in its time. The hardening of *dha* to *tha* in *sitha*, the change of *e* to *a* in *mataka*, vowel assimilation noticed in *dakaṇa* for P. *dakkhiṇa*, and metathesis of vowels in *danimi* for P, *dinno'mhi*, are other points of interest. The language of the inscription, in spite of certain archaisms, fits in to the period of **Daḷapatisa** (**Dāṭhopatissa**), in whose fifth year the document is **dated.**

Two princes named Dāṭhopatissa ruled at Anurādhapura in the seventh century, when the rivalries among the members of the Sinhalese royal family gave opportunity to the Tamils of South India to influence the course of events, now supporting one aspirant to power and now another, probably according to the dictates of the Pallava power at Kāñcī. Of these, Dāṭhopatissa I (*circa* 639–650), also known as Dāṭhāsīva, started his career as a general of Jeṭṭhatissa III, seized power after defeating Aggabodhi III (*circa* 629–639) and, after a reign of twelve years, was slain in battle by Kassapa II (*circa* 650–658), the younger brother of the king whom he ousted. The viceroy (*mahādipāda*) in the reign of Dāṭhopatissa was his nephew (sister's son) of the same name, but also referred to as Hatthadāṭha. He fled to India when his uncle was slain, returned with an army in the ninth year of Kassapa II, wrested the throne and held the sceptre for nine years (*circa* 658–666). In order to distinguish him from his uncle and namesake, he is often referred to in historical writings as Bhāgineyya Dāṭhopatissa, i.e., Dāṭhopatissa, the nephew[3].

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 49.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 94.

[3] For the history of these kings, see *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 44, vv. 83–155. For the dates assigned to them in my revised chronology, see below, p. 110.

The interval between the reigns of the two Dāṭhopatissas being only nine years, palaeography does not help us in assigning our record to one of them in preference to the other. Also, in the record itself, there is no explicit statement that would decide in favour of one. There are, however, two points in the document which, when interpreted with reference to the recorded history of the two reigns and the intervening period, may be taken as evidence, though not of a conclusive nature, for the view that it is of the reign of Dāṭhopatissa I. Our inscription does not refer to Dāṭhopatissa as king (*raja*) or great king (*maharaja*), as is usual in inscriptions when they name the reigning monarch. The less pretentious title of *purumaka* (Skt. *pramukha*), meaning "Lord", has been considered as sufficient or appropriate, by the person who drafted the inscription, to be used in referring to Dāṭhopatissa. But the fact that a document is dated in his era is evidence that Dāṭhopatissa's sovereignty was acknowledged. Now, the *Cūḷavaṁsa* informs us that, when Aggabodhi III fled to India after suffering defeat at the hands of Dāṭhopatissa, he took with him an important article of the Sinhalese regalia of those days—a pearl necklace called *ekāvalī*, without which custom apparently forbade a king to be consecrated. Dāṭhopatissa's accession to the throne, thus, was not ritually, i.e. legally, valid, and this can probably be the reason why our document styles him "Lord" instead of "King" or "Great King".

The **purport of our record** is to register a benefaction to a monastic building (*parivana*) in the **Dakkhiṇa Vihāra.** Now, in the reign of Kassapa II who reigned between the two Dāṭhopatissas, the great *stūpa* of the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra was breached, and the treasures deposited therein were plundered by the orders of the king. When its principal shrine was thus despoiled, it is very doubtful whether the monastery had any inmates during this reign, or during that of Dāṭhopatissa II. If so, our document, recording benefactions to the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra, may be taken as belonging to a time before the desecration of that shrine by Kassapa II, i.e., to the reign of Dāṭhopatissa I.

In mentioning the Dakaṇa Vihara (Dakkhiṇa Vihāra), our inscription furnishes evidence supplementing that afforded in the long inscription, or rather the series of inscriptions[1], engraved on a number of slabs of the pavement, at its base in the south-western quadrant, that the monument popularly called the Tomb of Elāra is, in reality, the *stūpa* of the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra.

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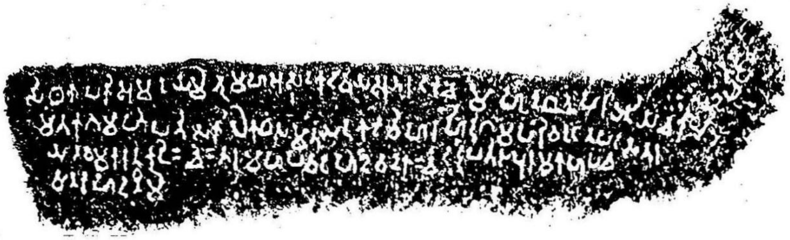
[1] *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1948, pp. 9 and 10.

Rock-Inscription near Dakkhiṇa Thūpa. Anurādhapura

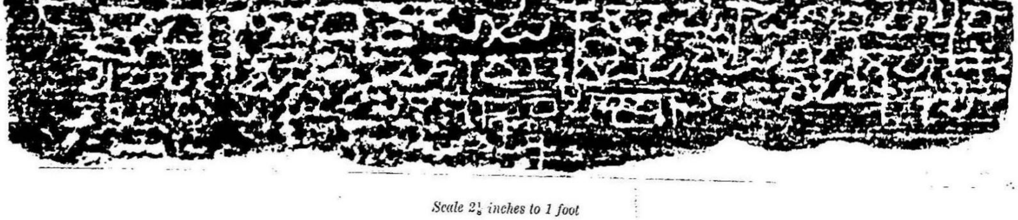


Scale 1 inch to 1 foot

Kandakāḍu Rock-Inscription

Scale about 11/16 inch to 1 foot

Tāmgoḍa Vihāra Pillar-Inscription



Scale 2⅛ inches to 1 foot

TEXT

1. සිථ **කපකි සුමනයමි** තුමහ අසනක දිවියඅතරඩක ච මහනබතපරිවනිය ච කවිසි-
පිටිනි (ච)
2. මතකගමහි පති සකලක ච සමතය **දකණවිහරහි දිගමපරිවන** [ජි] නපඩසතර-
3. -ය නවම කරන කටි ඉච ඉතර මහපවටහි ඔවනක ඉච **දළපතිසපුරුමකහ** පච-
4. වනකහ දනිමි

TRANSLITERATION

1. **Sitha Kapaki Sumanayami** tumaha asanaka Diviya-ataraḍaka ca Mahanabata-parivaniya ca Kavisi-piṭini (ca)
2. mataka-gamahi pati sakalaka ca samataya **Dakaṇa-viharahi Digama-parivana** [ji]napaḍasatara-
3. -ya navama karana kaṭi ica itara maha-pavaṭah[i] ovanaka ica **Daḷapatisa-purumakaha** paca-
4. vanakaha danimi

TRANSLATION

Hail ! I am **Kapaki Sumanaya.** I granted, in the fifth year of **Lord Daḷapatisa,** all the shares belonging to me, in their entirety, in the villages here mentioned, viz., Diviya-ataraḍaka and Mahanabata-parivaniya and Kivisipiṭini, for the purpose of spreading antelope skins in the **Digama-parivana** in the **Dakaṇa-vihara,** and for carrying out new works, and for supplies to the refectory (from any) residue (after defraying the expenses of the above).

REMARKS

Kapaki (line 1) can be equated with Pali *kappaka,* "barber" or "valet". It may also be taken as the earlier form of modern *kapu,* meaning a priest officiating at a temple of a Sinhalese god. For the termination, or rather the verbal form, *mi* in *Sumanayami,* and the same in the predicate *dinami,* (line 4), see *Sigiri Graffiti,* Introduction, §438.

Tumaha asanaka (line 1) :—*Tumaha,* gen. of *tuma* (Vedic *tman*), literally means, "of self". *Asanaka* is Skt. *āsanna,* "obtained", "occupied", with the secondary meaning "possessed", to which the suffix *-ka* has been added.

The place name Diviya-ataraḍaka (line 1) can be interpreted as "the canal (*aḍaka*) between (*atara*) the two tanks (*di-viya*"). Mahanabata-parivaniya:—compare "Mahanāvuta", a place name occurring in the Sīgiri graffiti; *parivaniya* is the earlier form of the modern S. *paraveni*, "heritable land".

Kavisi-piṭini (l. 1):—The second part of this compound is perhaps identical with modern S. *piṭṭani*, "an open flat land".

Mataka-gamahi pati (line 2):—*Mataka* is a later form of *me-vataka*, for which see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 186. For *pati*, which may mean "revenue" as well as "share", see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 117 f.

Samataya (line 2) is equated to P. *sammataka* by Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 257) and translated as "recognised". Its separation from *sakalaka* by the conjunction *ca*, in our record, does not support Wickremasinghe's interpretation. I take *samataya* to be equivalent to Skt. *sameta*+*ka*.

Jina-paḍasataraya navama karana kaṭi (ll. 2–3):—Compare the phrases *jiṇa-paṭisatariya karanaka koṭu* in the Perumiyankuḷam Inscription of Vasabha (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 69) and *jiṇa-paṭisatiriya karanaka koṭu* in the "Jetavanārāma" inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 255). With *paṭisataraṇa* in place of *paṭisatariya*, and with the addition of *navakama* before *karanaka*, the phrase occurs in various epigraphs of the second to fourth centuries. Wickremasinghe equates *jiṇa-paṭisatariya-kama* with P. *jiṇṇa paṭisanthārika-kamma*, and translates the phrase as "the work of looking after the dilapidated buildings" (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 71). If by this phrase the inscriptions mean something to be done to dilapidated buildings, that must be their restoration, and the word used in Pali in that sense is *paṭisaṁkharaṇa* not *-saṁtharaṇa*. *Paṭisataraṇa* of the inscriptions cannot be derived from P. *paṭisaṁkharaṇa*, for the substitution of *t* for *kh* is not attested by any other example. The interpretation of Wickremasinghe is unacceptable for other reasons also. In the "Jetavanārāma" inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa, it is recorded that the king caused a "sitting hall" (*asana-hala* P. *āsana-sālā*), to be made, and provided for the service meant by *jiṇa-paṭisatiriya* (*E. Z.* Vol. I, pp. 256–7). In an unpublished inscription of Vasabha from a place named Sinna-Āṇḍiyāgala in the Vilacci Korale, it is recorded that the king constructed an *uposatha* house for the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra, and granted a tank for the *jiṇa-paḍisataraṇa* of that edifice. Further on in this record, it is stated that *bhikkhus* resided at the place attending to that function (*pohatakarahi jiṇa-paḍisataraṇa koṭa vasana biku-sagahaṭaya*). It is thus

clear that *jiṇa-paḍisatarana* was a work that had to be done in the *uposatha* house from the time it was established, and that a number of *bhikkhus* resided therein to carry out that function. Now, if the restoration of dilapidated buildings is the purport of the word, it is indeed strange that this was provided for in the case of the *uposatha* house as soon as it was established, and that a number of *bhikkhus* resided in the building to attend to this particular task. In that case, the edifice which, as we learn from the inscription, cost the king a lakh and a quarter, had become dilapidated by the time it was completed. There is no evidence that Vasabha or his minister of works intended this *uposatha* house to serve in such an effective demonstration of the Buddhist doctrine of *anicca*. *Jiṇa-paṭisatarana* or *-paṭisatiriya* cannot therefore, mean "restoration of dilapidated buildings".

With *paṭisatarana* of this phrase in Ceylon inscriptions, should be compared *paṭisatharaṇa* (*leṇasa paṭisatharaṇe*) in an inscription at Nāsik (*E. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 64, 67 and 69). Senart equates this word with Pali *paṭisanthāra*, which is frequently used with the meaning "friendly welcome", "kind reception", "honour", &c. Compare Sinhalese *piḷisan̆dara*. The etymological meaning of *paṭi-santhāra* (Skt. *pratisaṁstāra*), however, is "spreading"; the secondary meaning in which the word is used is a result of the fact that, in olden days, the first manifestation of a friendly welcome was the spreading of a carpet or a mat for the guest to sit upon. I am of opinion that it is in this original sense that *paṭisatarana* and its variant forms (=Skt. *pratisaṁs-taraṇa*) are used in the inscriptions of Ceylon.

From the story of the Migāra-mātu-pāsāda, dedicated to Buddha by Visākhā, narrated in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (Vol. I, p. 414), we learn that, in order to make a residence suitable for occupation by the Buddha and his disciples, costly cloths were spread on its floors. The same practice no doubt prevailed in the monasteries of ancient Anurādhapura, and what the resident *bhikkhus* referred to in the Sinna-Ān̆ḍiyāgala inscription had to do was to spread cloths on the seats in the *uposatha* house whenever the members of the *saṅgha* came to that edifice to perform the *vinayakammas*.

If the meaning of *paṭi-satarana* or *-satariya* is as suggested above, *jiṇa* cannot obviously stand for P. *jiṇṇa*, "dilapidated". In my view, *jiṇa* is the same as Skt. and Pali *ajina*, a species of deer whose skin was in demand among holy men in ancient India. The elision of the initial *a* in the change of *ajina* to *jiṇa* is paralleled by Skt. *ayas* becoming S. *ya*, Skt. *ananta*

becoming *nat*, etc. The substitution of the dental *n* with a cerebral has analogies in Old S. *aṇikaṭa* for Skt. *anīkaṭṭha*, and Old S. *leṇa* for Skt. *layana*. The use of the skin of the *ajina* deer in the furnishing of monasteries is attested to by the Vinaya (Oldenberg), Vol. I, p. 192. See also *Sikhavalaňda-vinisa* (edited by D. B. Jayatilaka), p. 63.

The association, in many documents, of *jiṇa-paṭi-sataraṇa* with *nava-kama* might lend some support to the interpretation of the former as "care of dilapidated buildings". In Pali, *nava-kamma* denotes the undertaking of new buildings, and it may be argued that the ancient documents can reasonably be taken as referring together to the erection of new religious edifices and the maintenance of the old. *Nava-kamma*, from which *navama* of our inscription is derived, need not necessarily be restricted in meaning to new architectural undertakings. The Sinhalese *nävǟmi* from P. *nava-kammika* has been applied to workers in metal, and a barber is called *kara nävǟmi* (=P. *khura-nava-kammika*). The term *nava-kama* and its variants occurring in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon might very well have indicated the manufacturing of metal utensils required for a monastery. In this connection, see my paper on "The Word *Navakarmia* in the Kanishka Casket Inscription" in *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, pp. 229–233. In the translation, I have adopted the non-commital "new works" in rendering this word.

The element *paṭi* in *jiṇa-paḍasataraya*, which has been treated as the equivalent of the Sanskrit prefix *prati*, can also be taken as the earlier form of the standard Sinhalese *piḷi*, "cloth", derived from Skt. *paṭa* to which the feminine suffix *-ī* or the pleonastic *-ka* had been added. In that case, the compound *jiṇa-paḍa* (or *paṭi*) should be translated as "antelope skins and cloths". It is also permissible to treat *jiṇa-paḍa* as a compound in which the first member qualifies the second, necessitating its translation by "cloths of antelope skin". In the *Sikhavalaňda-vinisa* (p. 63) the Pali word *kadali-miga-paccattharaṇa* has been explained as a coverlet made by sewing the skin of the *kadali* deer to a white cloth. It is not impossible that the skin of the *ajina* deer, too, was prepared to serve as carpets in the same manner.

Maha-pavaṭah[i] ovanaka (line 3) :—For *maha-paka-vaṭa*, literally, "great bakery", the earlier form of *maha-pavaṭa* in our epigraph, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 258. Wickremasinghe takes *uvanaka*, the earlier form of *ovanaka*, to be equivalent to Skt. *utpannaka*. I am inclined to equate it with Skt. *upāyana-ka*. Its later form occurs in the Mihintale tablets in the phrase *vaṭ onā tänä* (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 92).

No. 6. KANDAKĀḌU ROCK-INSCRIPTION OF UPATISSA II

By S. Paranavitana

In 1897, H. C. P. Bell, then Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, accomplished a very successful tour of nine weeks' duration in the Tamankaḍuva District, parts of which are still among the most inaccessible regions of the Island. In the course of this expedition, he visited a large number of ancient sites, and copied more than fifty inscriptions, till then unknown, most of which belong to the period between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. A brief account of this exploratory work was given by Bell in his Administration Report for that year (pp. 6–11), and two papers, embodying fuller accounts illustrated with photographs and texts and translations of inscriptions, were contributed by him to the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* twenty years later[1].

Almost the last ancient site explored by Bell during this memorable tour was Kandakāḍu, on the right bank of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, in the *tulāna* of the same name. Unseasonable rains which overtook Bell did not permit him personally to visit the two rocks called Tōṇigala (Boat-rock)[2] about a mile from the village, on which are engraved ancient records; but copies of these were secured by one of his officers in 1903. The eye-copies prepared on that occasion are available among the records of the Archæological Department. Fresh estampages were prepared of the inscriptions on the site, at the instance of the present writer, in 1939.

On the more easterly of these rocks is engraved, by the side of a water-hole, a long, single-line inscription of fifty-five characters in the most ancient form of the Brāhmī script. The reading of this record published by Bell requires emendation with respect to only two letters. The word read by him as *bataśa* should be *etaśa*, "of this"; what he reads as a proper name *Kumi* is, in fact, *komi*, the ancient form of the modern Sinhalese *kema*, "water-hole". The epigraph, therefore, records the dedication, to the *saṅgha*, of the water-hole by the side of which it is incised on the rock. The other record on the same rock is in characters of the second century. It is

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[1] "Dim̐bulāgala, Its Caves, Ruins and Inscriptions" in *Ca.*, Vol. III, pp. 1–12 and 69–79, and "Archæological Exploration in the Egoḍa Pattuva, Tamankaḍuva", *ibid*, pp. 193–215.

[2] Two other rocks of this name bear ancient inscriptions of great interest. No. 1 of Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* is from Tōṇigala in the Puttalam District; a lengthy and extremely informative record of the reign of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa is engraved on a Tōṇigala in Kiḷakkumalaị South, Anurādhapura District *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 172–194).

fragmentary, and the name of the king in whose fifth regnal year it is dated is unfortunately not in the preserved portion. This inscription, however, has preserved the name of the old religious establishment at the place—Citanakaraka Vihara. Bell's reading of this epigraph needs no emendation.

To the subject of the present paper, which is neither of the above, Bell refers in the following words[1]: "The neighbouring (westerly) rock bears a very unusual, if not unique inscription of six lines[2], cut in firm letters, which is still for the most part in good preservation. It is inscribed in a form of writing so far, it is believed, unrecorded for Ceylon.

"The Script, which is of the 'button-at-top' type, resembles in this respect certain Indian grants. It belongs to the period fifth to seventh centuries A.D.; but differs from the untidy tantalising character[3] of that 'dark age' in two distinct features, viz., (*a*) the majority of the *aksharas* are indented, whilst (*b*) nearly all have a small open circular top, giving the straight vertical *ra* the semblance of the knob-headed 'hat-pin' affected by European ladies, the *ka* that of a dagger with cross haft-guard curled slightly downwards, the *va* a fat pear-like form and the *ma* somewhat the look of an 'English loaf'. Some consonants, (e.g. *tt*) are united one above the other.

"The name 'Tissa' may be legible in line 1; but what precedes it cannot *now* be read. The end of line 2 is worn away, or should, in combination with the first six letters (*raka viharahi*) of line 3, furnish the appellation of the temple then located at this site".

Bell, in a footnote, has drawn attention to the copper-plate grants in "box-headed" and "button-top" characters published in the *Epigraphia Indica*; but, with reference to the inscription under notice, says: "The vicarious copy of this peculiar text does not inspire sufficient confidence for a translation to be offered."

The securing of a good estampage has enabled me to decipher the whole epigraph, barring of course the letters which are no longer to be seen on the rock. In view of the interest attached to its script, and as it is one of the few inscriptions between the fifth and eighth centuries containing the name of a king, the results of my study of the document are now offered to those interested in Ceylon epigraphy.

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[1] *Ca.*, Vol. I, p. 215.

[2] Actually there are seven lines in this epigraph.

[3] On the Tōṇigaḷa rock are three letters in this script, possibly all that is now left of a completed record.

The area of the rock surface covered by the inscription measures 5 ft. 3 in. at its longest, and is 3 ft. 7 in. in breadth. The letters, which are boldly engraved to a considerable depth, vary in height between 3 in. and 7¼ in. The third and fourth lines are preserved in full. Of the first line, two letters at the end are totally destroyed and, of three others, the upper parts have been damaged, leaving enough, however, to reveal their identity. The first and fifth letters and the two before the last of line five, and about six and seven letters, respectively, towards the end of lines six and seven are lost. What is preserved of the document gives us the name of a king, the name of the religious institution which benefited by the grant registered therein, and some idea of the purport of that grant.

Bell, in the extract we have quoted above, has drawn attention to the special characteristic of the **script** used in this epigraph. The "button" at the head of the letters in Indian documents, with the script of which Bell has compared that of our record, is a small filled-in circle, and is found in Indian documents of the Gupta period as well as in the charters of the Valabhī, Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. In Bühler's opinion, this knob-like ornament could only have been developed by writing with ink on Bhūrja leaves[1]. The "buttons" or "knobs" at the head of the letters in our inscription are hollow circles. In the "box-headed" script found in records from Central India dating from Gupta times, and in the copper-plates of the kings of Śarabhapura, of the Vākāṭakas and of the Tīvara kings of Kosala, the ornament at the head of the letters is hollow as in our inscription, but it is a square and not a circle[2]. An exact parallel to our document in this respect cannot, therefore, be cited, so far as my knowledge goes, from Indian epigraphy. No other instance of this characteristic is known to me from an old document in Ceylon; in the Veherakema inscription of Vahaka-maharaja[3], however, a similar feature is noticed at the head of *va* and of *ca* at the beginning of line two. Whether it is due in the present instance to external influence, or to the artistic leanings of the scribe responsible for this epigraph, is a question which has to be left open for the present. The comparison of the

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[1] Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (Appendix of *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904), p. 63. For a specimen of the "button-headed" script of Central India, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 40 and Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Plate VII, Column 5.

[2] Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 64–65. For a specimen of the "box-headed" script, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, plate 27, facing page 260 and Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Plate VII, Column XI.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, Plate 14.

script of this record with that of the Veherakema inscription, referred to above, would show that the hollow "button" could have been a natural development from the "hook" at the top of letters noticed in many documents from the fourth or fifth century downwards. In this connection, the *ha* occurring as the sixth letter in the third line of our inscription is significant. If we ignore the "button" at the head[1], it will not be difficult to find parallels to the forms of individual letters in our inscription in other records of the period. The denting in of the base lines is noticeable in the script of the Nilagama record of Daḷa Mugalan[2]; among published epigraphs, the Veherakema and the Kuḍāratmalē inscriptions[3] will furnish similar forms of individual letters.

As Bell has noted, the occurrence of ligatures is another noticeable feature of the script; witness *ssa* in l. 1, *tta* in ll. 2 and 4, *ṭṭha* in l. 3 and *nna* in l. 5. This may be due to these double consonants being preserved in the Sinhalese language as it was then spoken, or to pedantry. If it was due to the first reason, the double consonants must have come down from the Middle Indian period, and the words with double consonants in this record must show prototypes with that phonetic characteristic. This is so in *Tissa*, *citta* and *patiṭṭhavaya*, but not in *tanna*. The second reason, therefore, is more likely. Our scribe, as we have seen, wanted to show himself as different from others in the matter of the script; he is likely, therefore, to have endeavoured to show his superiority in linguistic attainments as well. The fact that the Pali has double consonants, where the native idiom is satisfied with single consonants, was no doubt known to him; and in introducing the double consonant to show his learning, he has blundered in one instance where the Pali equivalent itself cannot boast of this phonological affluence. Apart from this feature, the **language** is in conformity with that of other documents attributable to the period. In *keravita* (1.2) for P. *kārāpita*, we have the epenthetic vowel *i* fused with the *a* of the first syllable into *e*, the prototype of the later *ä*[4]; the *p* has changed to *v*.[5] The form *miya* for Skt. *madhu* occurs also in the earlier Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa.[6] *C* has not changed to *s* in the language of our inscription.

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[1] In the *ga* of our record, the "knob" or "button" is at the foot of the letter.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, plate 28.

[3] See above pp. 30–34, and plate 2.

[4] For these phonological developments, see *Sīgiri Graffiti*, Introduction, § 277 ; Rule xix.

[5] *Ibid*, Rule lxxxvi.

[6] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 178.

Of the **royal name** contained in this record, the element *Tissa* has been correctly deciphered by Bell. The *akṣara* immediately preceding *ti* can be recognised as *pa*, in spite of its upper half being mutilated. The letter which precedes it is almost perfectly preserved, and can easily be recognised as *o*. We thus have the proper name "Opatissa", which no doubt stands for "Upatissa". For the change of *u* in the first syllable to *o*, when the second syllable has an *a*[1], compare *opula* for Skt. *utpala* in a Vessagiri inscription[2]. Of the first three letters in line 1 of the record which precedes this proper name, the first is clearly *de*; of the second, only the "button-head" has suffered mutilation, and there is no difficulty in recognising it as *nu*. The next letter has been slightly damaged at the top, but not so much as to obscure its identity; it is *pe*. We thus have *denupe* which, from the context, is obviously a title prefixed to the personal name. Phonologically, this can be equated with *devanapiya* occurring in the early Brāhmī inscriptions in Ceylon[3]. In literary Sinhalese, *devanapiya* occurs as *devanapā̆*; in the modern spoken language as *devenipā̆*. The element *pe* of *denupe* in our record is clearly the earlier form of *pā̆* occurring in *devana-* or *deveni-pā̆*, and stands for the earlier *piya* (Skt. *priya*). For the syllable *nu* in place of the earlier *na*, it is relevant to mention that the form of this title occurring in Jaina literature is *devānuppiya*[4]. For the dropping of the whole syllable *va*, compare *huna* for Skt. *suvarṇṇa* in a sixth century inscription in the Northern Monastery of Anurādhapura[5]. If this equation is accepted, it is interesting to note that this royal title affected by Asoka was kept alive in Ceylon, with its original significance, as late as the sixth century.

Whether he called himself "the friend of the gods" or not, it is certain that the king of our epigraph was an Upatissa. If we ignore the Brahmin Upatissa who figures in the traditional lists of kings after the legendary Vijaya, there were two sovereigns of ancient Ceylon who bore this name. The earlier, the son of Buddhadāsa, came to the throne in or about 365 A.D., and had a long reign of 42 years, until he was murdered, at the instance of his younger brother, then a cleric, by his own queen[6]. Upatissa II came to the throne by murdering his predecessor in or about 517 A.D., and was

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[1] *Sigiri Graffiti*, Introduction, §277, Rule xxiv.
[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 132.
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 138, 140–144, 147–149.
[4] Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xxx.
[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 140.
[6] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 37, vv. 179–210.

ousted after one and a half years by Silākāla[1]. Palaeographically, it is impossible to assign our epigraph to Upatissa I. No inscription directly proclaiming itself to be of Upatissa I has yet come to light[2], but records are known of his predecessor, Buddhadāsa, and his successor, Mahānāma. Both these monarchs are represented in inscriptions engraved on a rock at an ancient site called Vēragoḍa-gala in the Tamankaḍuva District[3]. An inscription of Buddhadāsa has been found at the Ruvanväli Dāgäba at Anurādhapura[4], and the slab from Tissamahārāma, now in the Colombo Museum, is of the reign of Mahānāma[5]. Even if we ignore the "button-head" at the top of the letters in our record, its script definitely shows more developed forms than do these records of Buddhadāsa and Mahānāma. On palaeographical grounds, therefore, we have to conclude that the ruler referred to in our epigraph is **Upatissa II.**

This conclusion receives some measure of indirect support from the **contents** of the record, which states that the monastery of Mahācitta-nakaraka was caused to be founded by Upatissa. The fragmentary inscription of the second century at the site also gives the ancient name of the *vihāra* which existed at the place as **Citanakaraka-vihara.** Upatissa's undertaking, therefore, was not an original foundation, but a restoration. The *Cūḷavaṁsa,* in its account of the reign of Upatissa I, gives a number of *vihāras* which owed their existence to the munificence of that monarch, but no name corresponding to that of the *vihāra* of our inscription is included among them. Also, according to our inscription, the *stūpa* of the **Mahacitta-nakaraka** monastery was established and grants made for its maintenance by the Assembly of the township which flourished at that place in ancient times, though the monastery itself is said to have been founded by king Upatissa. In the case of Upatissa I who, apart from his queen's intrigue which ended his life, enjoyed a long and prosperous reign of over forty years, it is unlikely that a monastery founded by him would have been left without a *stūpa* and endowments, for the local authority to step in and supply these wants. But, in the case of Upatissa II, that monarch, during his reign of less than two years, was never left in peace by his ambitious son-in-law, Silākāla ;

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa,* chap. 41, vv. 5–25.

[2] A fragmentary rock inscription from Pānama-väva may, however, be attributed to Upatissa I (*C. J. Sci.,* G. Vol. II, p. 103).

[3] *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register,* Vol. III, plate xx.

[4] *E. Z.,* Vol. III, plate 8.

[5] Müller, *A. I. C.,* No. 67

and his heroic and chivalrous son, Kassapa, lost his life in this fratricidal struggle for power. Upatissa II himself died of grief when he received the news of his son's untimely end. In these circumstances, it is not unlikely that Upatissa II did not live long enough to complete the work of establishing the *vihāra* that he was interested in, and Silākāla was not disposed to continue and complete the work begun by the ruler whom he had ousted. In such a predicament, it is quite possible that the *bhikkhus* concerned, realising that their monastery was not likely to be completed through royal bounty, managed to get the local body to build and endow the *stūpa* that was needed.

Citta-nakaraka, the ancient name of the modern Kandakāḍu, does not occur in the chronicles. Etymologically, it is the same as ' Sit-naru ', which was evidently the fief of Budal, the beneficiary of the Panākaḍuva charter of Vijayabāhu I[1]. We cannot, however, be certain that ' Citta-nakaraka and ' Sitnaru ' were applied to one and the same place. Due to the fragmentary nature of our document, the exact purport of the grant and the names of the lands affected thereby cannot be ascertained.

TEXT

1. දෙ[නුපෙ] **ඔ[ප]තිස්ස** ම[හර]-
2. -ජහ කෙරවිත **මහචිත්ත [නක]**-
3. **-රක**විහරහ චෙතෙය පතඨවය
4. චෙතෙයට ම චිත්තනකරක හබ
5. .. .. නකග[ළ]තන්නහි ස .. .. .. ය
6 -ළහි ගලකුබරි නිචි(තෙ) .. ..
7. තෙලමියට සොළ(ස) .. ..

TRANSLITERATION

1. De [nupe] **O[pa]tissa** ma[hara]-
2. -jaha keravita **Maha-Citta [naka]**-
3. -raka-viharaha ceteya pataṭṭhavaya
4. ceteyaṭa ma [2] Cittanakaraka haba
5. .. .. nakaga [ḷa] tannahi Sa .. .. .. ya-
6. -lahi Galakubari nici (t)e .. ..
7. tela-miyaṭa soḷa (sa) .. ..

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[1] See above, p. 25.

[2] Perhaps to be read as *me*.

TRANSLATION

Having established the *caitya* of the monastery of **Maha-Cittanakara,** caused to be founded [1] by the great king Denupe **Opatissa,** the Assembly [2] of this Cittanakaraka, for the benefit of the *caitya*, deposited [3] with the Assembly [4] of .. .. .. nakagala, (the field named) Galakubari in .. .. sixteen [5] .. .. .. for the purpose of providing oil and honey [6].

No. 7. ṬÄṀGOḌA VIHĀRA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF SIRIMEGHA

BY S. PARANAVITANA

ṬÄṀGOḌA Vihāra, in the village of Ītanavatte Tānāyam-gama in the Vellassa Division of the Badulla District, is the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery, thoroughly renovated in recent years. The modern buildings, which are in the nondescript style of Sinhalese Buddhist shrines of the present day, have swept away whatever structural remains, dating from ancient days, that the site may have contained before renovators turned their attention to it, but a few architectural fragments still remain, though not in their original positions, to bear witness to the antiquity of the religious establishment at the place. At the entrance to the modern *pansala* (monks' residence), are two stone balustrades ornamented with *makaras* of unusual style ; and, at the entrance to the present image house, are guard-stones with vases containing flowers (*pūrṇaghaṭas*) carved in low relief on them, a plain moonstone and two balustrades. In front of the preaching hall are two plain guard-stones ; a number of stones are lying scattered about the place. Bricks found at the site are of a size that was in vogue in the early

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[1] *Keravita*, literally, " caused to be made ".

[2] *Haba* = Skt. *sabhā*. The form *haba* is now in use in colloquial Sinhalese, with the secondary meaning of " law-suit ", i.e. a matter brought to the assembly for its decision.

[3] *Nicite :* The last syllable of the word is damaged and has been conjecturally read. If this reading is accepted, the word has to be treated as a variant form of *nikata*, found in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 182).

[4] *..nakaga[la] tannahi :*—For *tannahi* in this imperfectly preserved compound, see the comments on the word *niyamatanahi* in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 181).

[5] We have perhaps to assume sixteen *kahāpaṇas*.

[6] *Tela-miyaḷa :*—For similar phraseology, see the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa, l. 12 (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 178).

centuries of the Christian era, and on two specially shaped bricks meant for the spire (*kot-kärälla*) of the old *stūpa*, now restored, the number and place which each occupied in a particular course are indicated by words written in Sinhalese letters of about the eighth century. On one brick we read *tun-vanne tun-vana* "third in the third (row)", and on the other *paḷamu* . . . "first". Of inscriptions on stone, the site has yielded two. The first, in characters of about the third century, is too fragmentary to make any connected sense out of it. The second, the subject of the present paper,[1] is on a roughly dressed pillar, 3 ft. 9in. in length, which has obviously been shifted from its original position. There is no indication that this short pillar formed any part of an architectural scheme ; the possibility is that an odd piece of stone which was to hand has been made use of for inditing the record, and set up by itself.

The lines of writing, of which there are four, begin from the base and extend vertically towards the top. The first three lines are each 2 ft. 9 in. in length, while the fourth is 1 ft. 5½ in. The individual letteres range in height between 3¼ in. and 0¾ in. The exposure to the weather has badly affected the writing, about ten letters from the beginning of l. 3 and practically the whole of l. 4 being illegible. The cracking of the stone has affected some of the other letters also, certain lines appearing in the estampage as integral parts of the letters being really adventitious.

The **script** is of the angular variety with a preference for straight lines. Among the published inscriptions dated in the reign of a king recognisable in the chronicles, the closest parallel to the script of the present record is furnished by the Nāgirikanda rock inscription of Kumāradāsa[2]. Generally, the script of our record is somewhat florid and cursive when compared with that of the other. In the case of one or two letters, for example *ta*, the forms in our record represent a relatively earlier stage of development. As against these, there are others, like *ha*, *va* and *da*, which exhibit forms more developed than those in the Nāgirikanda record. The conclusion which can be arrived at by an examination of the script is that our record is contemporaneous with, or somewhat later than, the Nāgirikanda epigraph. In the change of intervocalic sonants to surds, e.g. *Sirimeka* for Skt. *Śrīmegha*, the preservation of *c* without being changed to *s*, and in several other phonological features,

[1] See *A. S. C. A. R.* for 1937, p. 10. The inscription is No. 1608 of the Departmental Register.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pp. 115–128, plate 11.

the stage of development represented by the language of our record is the same as that of the Nāgirikanda inscription. A noteworthy word is *ubara* in place of *kubara*, the latter of common occurrence in inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era.

The record is **dated** in the fourth year of a king whose full title is **Mapuruma Budaha Sirimeka Sirisagaboyi Apaya-payi** (P. Mahāpamukha Buddhadāsa Sirimegha Sirisaṁghabodhi Abhaya-pāda). Of these *mapuruma*, meaning "Great Lord", is equivalent to "His Majesty" in English, being the earlier form of *mapurmukā* regularly occurring in inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries[1]. Buddhadāsa is the personal name of only one king in the chronicle, and the date of that king, *circa* 337–365, is too early for the script of the present record[2]. This, too, is used as a title in our record, as has been by Khudda Pārinda[3]. "Sirisaṁghabodhi" occurs in the chronicle as the personal name of only one monarch, and an examination of the script of the records of his successor, Goṭhābhaya[4], will make it evident that the present document cannot belong to the reign of that ruler. *Abhaya*, from its use in the Nāgirikanda inscription, is seen to be an honorific[5], and such is the case of *pāda*. We are thus left with "Sirimegha" as the distinctive personal name of the monarch to whose reign our record belongs. In the chronicle, there are two rulers of whose names "Sirimegha" formed a part. The first was Sirimeghavaṇṇa (*circa* 301-328), the son and successor of Mahāsena. Comparing the script of the present inscription with records which can be definitely ascribed to Sirimeghavaṇṇa, it is certain, on palaeographical grounds, that our record is not his[6]. Thus we are left with the ruler called Kitti Sirimegha in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, who flourished in the sixth century, less than half a century after the reign of Kumāradāsa of the Nāgirikanda inscription. The conclusions that we arrived at on palaeographical grounds with regard to the age of this inscription will thus be in agreement with the identification of the king mentioned therein with Sirimegha, surnamed Kitti in the chronicles. This is the only inscription so far known of that ruler. The record is important not only for this reason, but also as one of the very few

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[1] See *J. R. A. S. C. B.* for 1936, p. 447.

[2] Buddhadāsa, *circa* 337–365. For his inscriptions, see *Ca.*, Vol. III, plate XX and *E. Z.* Vol. III, pp. 120–126 and plate 8.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

[4] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pl. 22 (Vessagiriya Rock-Inscription).

[5] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 123.

[6] See, for example, the Tōṇigala inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pl. 14.

epigraphs of this period giving the name of the king who was reigning at the time it was indited.

The record is also of great historical significance in another respect, for it necessitates the revision of the chronology of Sinhalese kings of the 6th to 10th centuries as put forward by Wijesinha, Wickremasinghe and Geiger[1]. All these scholars agree in taking that Kitti Sirimegha reigned for nineteen days only, but our record is dated in the fourth year of his reign. It thus becomes evident that this unfortunate ruler has been a victim of modern scholarship, having been made to quit his earthly life many years before he, in fact, was slain by Mahānāga. Much worse is the circumstance that the shortening of the life of Kitti Sirimegha makes it necessary for his successors also to quit the scene of their earthly labours prematurely. Turnour, the first to compile a chronological list of Ceylon kings, permitted Kitti Sirimegha to be alive for nineteen years after ascending the throne. The *Pūjāvalī* and the other Sinhalese historical writings also credit Kitti Sirimegha with a reign of nineteen years[2]. So do several manuscripts of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*[3]. In accepting the evidence for ascribing a reign of nineteen days to Kitti Sirimegha, as against that which supports nineteen years, Wickremasinghe was guided by the consideration that Mahānāga, who slew Kitti Sirimegha, would have been too old to occupy the throne at the end of the longer period, if it be accepted. For Mahānāga started his career[4] in the time of Silākāla, the initial point of whose reign was 33 years prior to the accession of Kitti Sirimegha and, if nineteen years be allowed to the latter, Mahānāga would have come to the throne about 50 years after this adventurer, in the naive words of the chronicler, "took to the career of a bandit, renouncing agriculture and like occupations, as he was high-minded".

I do not, however, agree that this point raises an insuperable difficulty against the acceptance of the evidence for a reign of nineteen years for Kitti Sirimegha. Even if Mahānāga took to the life of a bandit early in Silākāla's reign, say in his third year, he would not have been older than 69, provided

[1] See Wijesinha's table at p. x and xv-xxiii of his translation of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Government Press, Colombo, 1909, Wickremasinghe's at pp. 4–47 of *E. Z.*, Vol. III and Geiger's at pp. ix–xi of his translation of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, part II.

[2] B. Gunasekara, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, translated from "Pūjāvaliya"*, Colombo, 1895, p. 25, where this king is called Kuḍā Kitsirimevan. See also *Rājāvaliya*, B. Gunasekara's translation, Colombo, 1900, p. 56.

[3] See variant readings of Chap. 41, v. 91 of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* edited by Geiger.

[4] For Mahānāga and Kitti Sirimegha, see *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 41, vv. 64–92.

he renounced agriculture when he was 21, an age not too tender for the life of a bandit. If we presume that it was still later in Silākāla's reign that Mahānāga became convinced of the possibilities of a bandit's career, his age in the 19th year from the accession of Kitti Sirimegha becomes still less. It is not impossible to believe that a general, 75 years old, could successfully lead an expedition. And the chronicle expressly states that Mahānāga was old when he, at last, reaping the benefits of having renounced agriculture, mounted the throne of Anurādhapura and reigned for three years.

There is another consideration against the acceptance of nineteen days as the period of Kitti Sirimegha's rule. According to the chronicle, Kitti Sirimegha himself was a good-natured and generous prince, but he allowed his mother, an unscrupulous woman, to intervene in affairs of state, paving the way to corruption among state dignitaries, which resulted in the alienation of popular good-will towards him. And it was this state of affairs which gave Mahānāga the opportunity that he was waiting for during his long term as governor of Rohaṇa. Now, it would have taken some time for news about the state of affairs which prevailed at Anurādhapura to reach Rohaṇa, and for Mahānāga, after having received such news, to gather his forces, march to Anurādhapura, overcome opposition and make himself the master. A period of nineteen days is hardly sufficient for these preliminaries, and leaves no time whatever for the practice of corruption at the Anurādhapura court, which provided the occasion for Mahānāga's rebellion. And corruption in state affairs could not have had such swift reaction that those who practised it did not remain in power for more than nineteen days. If so, we have to assume that mediaeval Ceylon knew of a corruption of such virulence that a few days of it were enough to bring its practitioners to ruin, or that the people in those days were so intolerant of corruption that they took counter measures even before its very appearance. In these matters, human nature does not appear to have differed much in those days from what it is now, and the general trend of the narrative in the chronicle supports the conclusion that it had in view a reign of several years' duration for Kitti Sirimegha.

A lone voice of protest has been raised against the injustice done to Kitti Sirimegha by scholars who have dealt with Sinhalese chronology. The late Vāsala Mudali, W. F. Gunawardhana, in an article contributed to the *J. R. A. S., C. B.* (Vol. XXI, pp. 579–583) has ably marshalled the case for a reign of nineteen years for this monarch, using much the same arguments

as have been put forward here. But, for obvious reasons, academic circles have been deaf to the protests of the Vāsala Mudali, and Professor Geiger, who prepared his chronological scheme after the publication of the Vāsala Mudali's article, appears to have ignored it altogether. The present record fully vindicates the position taken up by the Vāsala Mudali, and we have to give Kitti Sirimegha his due—of which he has been deprived for so long, due to the carelessness of a copyist. The present record brings this king to our notice in the fourth year of his reign. The readings in the manuscripts which support a reign of nineteen days being thus found to be faulty, the other readings which give this ruler a reign of nineteen years, and the explicit statement to that effect in the *Pūjāvalī*, have to be taken as embodying the correct historical tradition. Nineteen, consequently, is the number of years, and not days, for which Kitti Sirimegha held the sceptre. This restitution of eighteen years and some months to Kitti Sirimegha makes it necessary to revise the chronology of Ceylon kings mentioned in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* up to the end of the Anurādhapura period, and I have undertaken this in an Appendix to this paper.

For the rest, what is legible of the record contains the names of certain fields, and mentions a personage called **Sirinakayi**. The **purpose** of the record, evidently, was to register the gift, by this individual, of the lands named to the *vihāra* which existed at the place in ancient days. The name of this institution, unfortunately, is not found in what is legible of the inscription.

TEXT

1. මපුරුම **බුදහ සිරිමෙක සිරිසගබොයි අප-**
2. **-යපයිහ** චත ලගි චතරවනක වසිහි 'ලටියබදරි මහදරි .. ..
3. .. .. උබර ච බොයි උබර ච බෙජල සිරිනකයි
4. .. .. ච . . . . .

TRANSLITERATION

1. Mapuruma [1] **Budaha Sirimeka** [2] **Sirisagaboyi Apa-**
2. **-ya-payiha** cata lagi catara-vanaka vasihi Laṭiyaba-dari Maha-dari.. ..

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[1] An adventitious stroke at the top gives the letter *pu* the appearance of *bu*.

[2] *Ri* appears like a *ki* due to an adventitious stroke.

3. .. .. ubara[1] ca Boyi-ubara ca Bejala **Sirinakayi**

4. .. .. ca .. ..

TRANSLATION

In the fourth year of the raising of the umbrella (of dominion) by His Majesty[2] **Budaha Sirimeka Sirisagaboyi Apayapayi** .... Laṭiyabadari, Maha-dari............and the field............and the field (called) Boyi,............**Bejala Sirinakayi**[3]............and............

APPENDIX

Chronology of Ceylon Kings ; Mahāsena—Mahinda V

The traditional chronology of Ceylon is based on the lengths of reigns given in the chronicles, taking the reign of the first king as beginning with the Buddhist era of the Theravāda school computed from the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. The first year of the Buddhist era now current is 544–3 B.C., and the data furnished by the Polonnaruva inscription of Sāhasamalla prove that this was so as early as 1200 A.D[4]. The historical writings of Ceylon have also recorded dates from the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha for certain important events, e.g. the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon and the schisms in the Sinhalese Church. The chronological tables of Turnour and Wijesinha were based solely on these data.

No inscription earlier than the reign of Parākramabāhu I[5] records a date in the Buddhist or any other well-known era. The earlier documents

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[1] *Ubara :* This word also occurs in a *circa* fifth-century rock-inscription at Hiñguregala (see below, p. 116) and is the prototype of *umbur* in a tenth century inscription from Māṇikdeṇa. The earlier form *uvara* is found in an inscription of Gajabāhu I at the Ratanapāsāda, Anurādhapura. In the Māṇikdeṇa inscription, a land first mentioned as an *umbur* is subsequently referred to as *me kumbur*, thus establishing that *umbur* and *kumbur* are synonymous. For these variant forms, compare *koḍokku* which is synonymous with *oḍokku*. The form *uvara* helps us to trace all these variant forms, meaning "field"—*ubara, umbur, kumbur, kubara* and *kuburu* in inscriptions, and the modern *kum̆bura*—to Sanskrit *urvarā*. The forms with the initial *k* presuppose an earlier **huvara* and **hubara*. Compare Sinhalese *hoṭa* from Skt. *osṭha* for the introduction of the aspirate at the beginning of the word.

[2] *Mapuruma.*

[3] *Bejala* is a place name used as a surname. "Sirinakayi" is "Sirināga" in Pali.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 220.

[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 317.

are dated in the regnal years of kings. Sylvain Levi[1] has pointed out a number of synchronisms with Chinese history in the period between the fifth and eighth centuries, and Hultzsch[2] has collected almost all the synchronisms with South Indian history for the seventh to tenth centuries, enabling the accuracy of the traditional chronology for these periods to be tested. Wickremasinghe, in his *Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings*,[3] and Geiger, in his *List of Ceylon Kings*,[4] have checked and altered the traditional chronology with the help of the material furnished by Sylvain Levi and Hultzsch. Though they differ in the interpretation of the earlier Chinese synchronisms, they agree in taking the reign of Mahinda V as having begun in 981 A.D., on the evidence pointed out by Hultzsch, that the 36th year of this king, when he was captured by the armies of Rājendra Coḷa, must be equivalent to the 6th year of that Coḷa emperor, i.e. 1017–18 A.D.

But, if we allow a reign of 19 years, and not days, to Kitti Sirimegha, as the Ṭäṁgoḍa inscription forces us to do, and add up the regnal years of the succeeding kings up to Mahinda V from the date assigned by the one or the other of these two scholars to Kitti Sirimegha, the result would go against the reliable evidence of the records of Rājendra Coḷa. On the other hand, if we take this as the sheet anchor, and calculate backwards, following Geiger or Wickremasinghe, the results would not be in harmony with the equally reliable Chinese evidence. I have, therefore, felt it obligatory on me, in expiation of the sin of having upset the apple-carts of Sinhalese chronology of these two scholars, to put forward a chronological scheme to take their place, even though I am aware that, in doing so, I make myself open to the charge of making "confusion worse confounded", and bewildering the student by a multiplicity of dates for the same event. In the succeeding paragraphs, I deal briefly with the methods I have pursued in assigning dates to the various rulers.

In order to fix the period of the ruler whose epigraph we have dealt with above, it is necessary not only to take into consideration the fairly certain date of Mahinda V's capture, but also to begin our chronological investigations from a point some three centuries earlier than Kitti Sirimegha. I have

[1] *Les Missions de Wang Hieun Tse dans l'Inde* in *Journal Asiatique* for 1900, pp. 297 ff., translated by John M. Senaveratna in *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 75 ff.

[2] *Contributions to Singhalese Chronology*, *J. R. A. S.*, for 1913, p. 517 ff.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 4 ff.

[4] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, translation, part II, pp. viiif.

selected the reign of Mahāsena as the starting point, not only because the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* furnishes us with a date in the Buddhist era for the accession of that monarch, but also as the chronology of the earlier period from Devānampiya Tissa to Mahāsena has been admirably dealt with by G. C. Mendis in his paper, *The Chronology of the Early Pali Chronicles*[1]. The chronology of the period after Mahinda V moves on the pivot of the date of Sāhasamalla's accession, and is not affected by the length of Kitti Sirimegha's reign.

The *Nikāyasaṁgraha* gives 818 B.E. as the date of Mahāsena's accession to the throne; according to the *Pūjāvalī*, 844 years, 9 months and 25 days had elapsed since the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha when this king's reign of 27 years ended. Assuming this evidence to be reliable—a question to which we would revert in the sequel—how are we to convert the date to the Christian era? Geiger agrees with Wickremasinghe in the view that a Buddhist era with 483 B.C. as its starting point was then current in Ceylon. Relying on a faulty translation by Wijesinha of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. 53, v. 44, Wickremasinghe mistook the capture, by Rājendra Coḷa's army, of the Pāṇḍyan regalia deposited in Ceylon, referred to in Coḷa inscriptions, as having taken place in the reign of Udaya IV (III), and basing his calculations on this faulty premise, came to the conclusion that a Buddhist era, with 483 B.C. as its starting point, was prevalent in Ceylon up to the tenth century.[2] John M. Senaveratna, with great erudition, argued for the prevalence of such a Buddhist era in Ceylon up to the fifteenth century[3]. Hultzsch pointed out Wickremasinghe's error, and demonstrated that the South Indian synchronisms work out correctly according to the traditional chronology, when calculated by subtracting the totals of the lengths of intervening reigns from the figure for the date of Sāhasamalla's accession given in the Buddhist era of 544–3 B.C[4].

Wickremasinghe was thus obliged to abandon his theory so far as it related to the period of South Indian synchronisms, but clung to the belief that a Buddhist era with 483 B.C. as the starting point prevailed in Ceylon up to the third quarter of the sixth century. For this, he tried to secure support by one of the references to Ceylon in Chinese texts, the interpretation of which is open to doubt, though Sylvain Levi, who first drew attention to this synchronism, makes use of it to defend the traditional chronology.

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[1] *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 39–54.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

[3] *The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology* in *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 141 ff.

[4] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1913, p. 517 ff.

Of the references to Ceylon kings in Chinese texts, that which does not admit of any possibility of doubt as regards identification is the one stating that the king Ts'a-li Mo-ha-nan sent an envoy with a letter received at the Chinese court in the fifth year Iuen-kia (428 A.D.)[1]. There is only one name in the list of Sinhalese kings of which the Chinese transcription can be Mo-ha-nan ; that is Mahānāma. This name Mahānāma has been transcribed as Mo-ha-nan in Wang Hieun-ts'e's account, where it has also been translated as "great name"[2], which is precisely the meaning of "Mahānāma". There is only one Mahānāma in the list of Ceylon kings, and the year 428 falls within his reign when his date is calculated in accordance with the traditional chronology, taking 544–3 B.C. as the initial year of the Buddhist era. Wijesingha's dates for the reign of Mahānāma are 412-434 A.D. Taking the starting point of the Buddhist era as 483 B.C., Wickremasinghe makes Mahānāma ascend the throne in 468 A.D., forty years after his envoy had been received by the Son of Heaven. Wickremasinghe tries to get over this difficulty by suggesting that "this (i.e. the embassy to China) may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign[3]. The embassy received in China in 428 must have, in those days of slow travel, left Ceylon a year or more before that, i.e. in Buddhadāsa's and not Upatissa II's reign according to Wickremasinghe's chronology. Moreover, apart from the impossibility, on considerations of age, of assuming that a person who gave up the robes following an intrigue with his elder brother's queen and, ascending the throne in 468 A.D. (according to Wickremasinghe), reigned for 22 years, could have been a priest wielding power before 428, the Chinese sources refer to Mahānāma as a *kṣatriya* (*ts'a-li*) and a king. In the letter sent to the Chinese court, the terms in which Mahānāma refers to himself are those applicable to a king, and not to a priest[4].

The reference to Mahānāma in Chinese texts thus affords irrefutable proof for the view that the Buddhist era which prevailed in Ceylon during the fifth century had 544–3 as its first year. Geiger and Mendis have both accepted the position as such. The contemporaneity of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa, king of Ceylon, with Samudragupta of India—a historical fact also revealed by Sylvain Levi from Chinese texts—does not go against the Buddhist

[1] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 83.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 76.
[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 12.
[4] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 83.

era of Srīmeghavarṇṇa's time being calculated from 544–3 B.C. Wijesinha's dates for the reign of this monarch are 304–332 A.D., and it is possible that Samudragupta came to the throne in 325 A.D[1]. Samudragupta would be a contemporary of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa even if the dates for the latter were computed on the basis of a Buddhist era of 483 B.C., in which case the Sinhalese monarch was a younger, while in the other he was an older, contemporary of the Gupta emperor. This synchronism, therefore, is not a decisive consideration in settling the question of the Buddhist era current in Ceylon in the fourth century.

We now take for consideration the reference in the Chinese texts which Wickremasinghe takes as supporting his contention for the prevalence of a Buddhist era of 483 B.C. in the fifth century. Under the Leang dynasty, the Chinese annals record that, in the first year Ta-t'oung, i.e., 527 A.D., a king of Ceylon, by name Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya, sent a respectful letter[2]. The Chinese transcription Kia-che usually stands for Skt. Kāśyapa (P. Kassapa), and Wickremasinghe takes this king to be Kassapa I of Sīgiri, without considering the significance of the rest of the name, transcribed in Chinese as Kia-lo-ha-li-ya. Wickremasinghe's figures for Kassapa I are 526–552, which enable the embassy received in China in 527 to have been despatched very early in his reign. But he has arrived at these figures by the very arbitrary process of depriving Kassapa's predecessor, Dhātusena, of eight years of the period of eighteen years which, according to all authorities, the latter is stated to have reigned. Wickremasinghe is of opinion that the last eight years of Dhātusena's eighteen were spent in prison, while his son who wrested the throne from him actually ruled. The narrative in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* of the events of these two reigns does not support such a conclusion. The *senāpati* who placed Kassapa on the throne in order to punish Dhātusena for murdering his mother would not have waited so long as eight years to achieve his purpose ; and, so far as Kassapa was concerned, Dhātusena alive, even though in prison, would have been a source of danger, for the old king could have become a rallying point for such forces as were against him. Also, if documents began to be dated in the first year of Kassapa's reign after the tenth of Dhātusena, the latter's reign could not have been reckoned as having lasted for eighteen years, even if he lived for eight more years in prison. Dhātusena, whose career was cut short by his own son, cannot,

[1] Nilakanta Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, pp. 125–6.

[2] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 85.

therefore, be allowed to be further victimised by modern scholars for the purpose of extricating themselves from difficulties to which their own theories have led them.

According to Wickremasinghe's chronology, Dhātusena ascended the throne in 516 A.D. If we allow him the eighteen years of sovereignty which all sources agree in allotting him, his successor Kassapa could not have ascended the throne earlier than 533 A.D. Kassapa thus could not be identified with Kia-che, whose ambassador was received by the Son of Heaven in 527 A.D. On the other hand, if Kassapa's reign be adjusted to suit his identification with Kia-che, without depriving his predecessor of the lengths of their reigns as handed down in the chronicles, the first year of Mahānāma would fall on a date earlier than 468 A.D., and the chronological difficulties with regard to that monarch's embassy to China, created by the theory of a Buddhist era of 483 B.C., would be further increased.

It will thus be seen that neither the Chinese synchronisms nor the South Indian ones lend support to the prevalence of a Buddhist era with 483 B.C. as the starting point for the periods that they refer to. Geiger [1] does not agree with Wickremasinghe with regard to the interpretation of the two Chinese references that we have discussed above, and refer the relevant dates to the Buddhist era of 544–3 B.C., but is of opinion that a Buddhist era of 483 B.C. was in vogue from the earliest times up to the close of the fourth century A.D. It is the date assigned to Devānampiya Tissa on the ground of synchronism with Asoka of India, whose approximate date [2] has been fixed by the mention of Greek kings in his edicts, taken together with the traditional number of 236 years between the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha and the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, in the first year of Devānampiya Tissa, that has led to Geiger's view of the prevalence of such an era in Ceylon. The date of Asoka as fixed by the evidence of his inscriptions is no doubt reliable, and has to be considered a sheet anchor of Indian chronology. The date of his Sinhalese contemporary, Devānampiya Tissa, has likewise to be checked with this valuable evidence. It is also true that, according to Sinhalese tradition, the accession of Devānampiya Tissa took place 236 years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. But it does not necessarily follow from these premises that a Buddhist era with 483 B.C. as its starting point was known in Ceylon during the reign of Devānampiya

[1] *Cūlavaṁsa*, translation, part II, p. xviii.

[2] For Asoka's date, see Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xxviii ff.

Tissa, and much less during the five or six centuries subsequent to his death. For such a conclusion to be valid, it must be proved that a Buddhist era was in vogue in the time of Devānampiya Tissa, and that the people of that time held the view that the first year of this king was the 236th after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. For either of these views, there is not a shred of evidence. The earliest mention of the tradition that 236 years had elapsed from the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha up to the accession of Devānampiya Tissa is in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and the *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa [1]. The last dates from the reign of Mahānāma when, as we have seen above, the Buddhist era prevailing was one which had 544–3 as its starting point. The exact date of the *Dīpavaṁsa* is not known, but could not have been much earlier than the time of Buddhaghosa. It is probable that the sources used by Buddhaghosa and the author of the *Dīpavaṁsa* contained this information, but how far back from Buddhaghosa these sources date cannot be decided with any degree of certainty. Thus, those who accept 483 B.C. as the date of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* also rely on faith, though it may be to a lesser degree than those who accept the traditional view which places that event on a date equivalent to 544–3 B.C.

This question of two Buddhist eras current in ancient Ceylon with two different starting points is a result of our correlating dates in the Buddhist era to those in the Christian era. To those who followed the practice of relating events as having happened so many years after the *parinirvāṇa*, the reality of the date for that event would have been given by its relation to other events closer to their times. The process is exactly the opposite when we try to ascertain the date of a particular event which happened in the fourth or fifth century by correlating it to the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. We require that event to be fixed in relation to a system of reckoning with which we operate; but this was not necessary for those who were not familiar with another system of calculating dates. The accuracy of their reckonings in that era would not be checked by referring to the starting point of the era, but to an intermediate point or points with which well-known events were related, and from which there was a continuity of records. If there was an error in the figure relating to the interval between two events recorded in that era, the theoretical starting point of the era could have varied, and there was enough possibility for such errors to arise in times when historical tradition, in common with other branches of

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[1] *Dīpavaṁsa*, edited and translated by Oldenberg, p. 146; *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S., Edition, p. 73.

knowledge, was handed down orally. What matters, therefore, is the point from which there is a continuity of reliable records, and the number of years which was believed to have elapsed between that point and the theoretical beginning of the era. In the periods prior to that, dates when checked with other systems of reckoning will give results at variance with those arrived at by checking dates for the period during which there is a continuity of records. This does not necessarily mean that there were two eras with two starting points, but that the correctness of the figure given for the interval between two intermediate events is inaccurate. And, both before and after the reign of Devānampiya Tissa, there are inherently suspicious figures given for the periods which separated one event from another. It is, therefore, not a safe procedure to reckon from the date of Devānampiya Tissa either to ascertain the initial point of the era, or to arrive at dates, even approximately correct, for events such as the accession of kings of subsequent periods. But this is what Geiger and Wickremasinghe have both done, and the result is that both these scholars, when they come to times when dates can be checked with Chinese synchronisms, are confronted with an error of about sixty years.

The safer procedure, then, is to take a date as close as possible to the times for which we have evidence for the practice of reckoning from the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, to check its accuracy, with the help of synchronisms, with systems of chronology which stand on a secure basis, and calculate backwards from it. And such a date is provided by the reference to Mahānāma in the Chinese texts. Fortunately, this happens to be contemporaneous with, or very close to, the date of the earliest Ceylon document now preserved which relates events to the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. And the equivalent in the Christian era to the traditional dates for the reign of this monarch, referring to the Buddhist era of 544–3 B.C., includes within them the date during his reign known from Chinese sources. If a Buddhist era was current at that time, it was the same as the one now in vogue in Ceylon.

The lengths of reigns and the succession of kings as given in the chronicles for the period between Mahānāma and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī do not strike one as inherently improbable. About half of the kings who reigned during this period are mentioned in contemporary records and, where the relationship of one king to the other, or regnal dates, occur in these inscriptions, they do not conflict with the testimony of the chronicle. For the period between Devānampiya Tissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, the lengths of reigns and even the order of succession as narrated in the *Mahāvaṁsa* are open to grave

suspicion, and we have no means at our disposal of correcting them. The details of the chronology of this period have, therefore, to be left undecided. The only course that one can adopt is to ascertain the length of the period between the initial date of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, arrived at by computing backwards from the date of Mahānāma, and the last year of Devānampiya Tissa as decided from the fact of his having ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of Asoka. The synchronism of Devānampiya Tissa with Asoka, thus, is valid only for that reign, and does not help in the ascertainment of the dates of subsequent rulers. Those who have calculated forward from that reign have utilised the unreliable figures given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* for the seven kings between Devānampiya Tissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

A Buddhist era with 483 B.C. as its starting point has thus to be discarded as a myth of the same category as the myths about a race of men called Yakṣas in Ceylon—myths which owe their origin to modern critique. A note of warning has to be sounded against the taking of anything that I have said in the preceding paragraphs as evidence for the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha having actually taken place in 544 or 543 B.C.[1] What I have argued for is that, when the practice of dating from that event was begun in Ceylon, the point in time fixed for it corresponded to a day in the year 544 or 543 B.C.[2] Whether this was correctly fixed, we have at present no means to decide.

We have seen above that Wijesinha's date for the accession of Mahānāma, calculated on the basis of the traditional chronology, is approximately correct, for the year in which this monarch's envoy was received at the court of the Chinese Emperor falls within the period of his reign so computed. But when we check Wijesinha's dates for the kings of the ninth and tenth centuries with the South Indian synchronisms, we find that they are too late by about twenty years. Wijesinha, for example, has calculated the initial year of Mahinda V to have been 1001; but, as Hultzsch has pointed out, the capture, in his 36th year, of this ill-fated Sinhalese monarch by the victorious hosts of the Coḷa Emperor took place in 1017.[3] His accession, therefore, took place in 981 or 982. This error of twenty years has crept in despite the fact that Kitti Sirimegha has been given a reign of 19 days, instead of 19 years, which was his due. Had Wijesinha not deprived Kitti

[1] See also my remarks in *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 262–264.

[2] The Polonnaruva inscription of Sāhasamalla indicates that, in the twelfth century, the Buddha-varsa was reckoned from an initial point in 544 B.C., not 543 B.C., see *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 220.

[3] *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 523.

Sirimegha of almost the entire period of that ruler's reign, the error in his chronological table, when he came to the kings of the tenth century, would have been almost 40 years.

This error could have crept in by a few reigns being recorded as longer than they actually were, or due to the steady accumulation of fractions of years in all or most of the intervening reigns. The lengths of reigns during this period, as they have been recorded in the *Cūḷavaṁsa,* are not in themselves improbable, and are generally confirmed by the *Pūjāvalī,*[1] which apparently is not based on the Pali chronicle. In the few instances where the *Pūjāvalī* differs from the *Cūḷavaṁsa* with regard to the duration of a particular reign, the discrepancy appears to be due to scribal errors rather than to divergence in the historical traditions. The *Cūḷavaṁsa* account of the reign of Vijayabāhu I clearly indicates that, in the eleventh century, annals were maintained at the court,[2] and it is most probable that this was a practice continued from earlier times. The inscriptions contain evidence of the prevalence of posthumous names of kings based on the regnal year in which each of them expired[2]—a practice which would have tended to preserve the memory of the lengths of reigns[3]. Sylvain Levi, after an examination of the Chinese references to Ceylon, has declared: "One would be justified in affirming, after this examination, that the chronology of the *Mahāvaṁsa* may be admitted as a solid authority, if not wholly, at least from the commencement of the 4th century"[4].

Though the reigns of Sinhalese kings of the fourth to tenth centuries may thus be taken, on the whole, as correctly handed down in the chronicles, there is a circumstance which could give rise to a considerable error in the course of six centuries. Except in the case of reigns which were less than a year in duration, the chronicles record the lengths of reigns in years only. It is, of course, quite impossible to believe that every king died, or was deposed, exactly on the day on which he completed a regnal year. There must, of course, have been an odd number of months and days in each reign in excess of, or to be discounted from, the years recorded in the chronicle, as we take the last regnal year as expired or current.

This leads us to the question whether the lengths of reigns are given in expired or current years; in other words, when a particular king is stated

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[1] B. Gunasekara, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon from the Pūjāvaliya*, Colombo, 1895.

[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, translated by Geiger, part II, p. 209, f.n. 5.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 86.

[4] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 96.

to have reigned for twenty years, whether his reign lasted for full twenty years or nineteen and an odd number of months and days. Wijesinha, as a rule, has taken the last regnal year of every reign as expired. For example, the five kings from Sena I to Kassapa V are stated to have reigned 20, 35, 11, 17 and 10 years respectively, and Wijesinha gives them an aggregate of 93 years.

In the *Cūḷavaṁsa* itself, the last year of the reigns of certain kings are given as current. Of the five kings whom we have taken for consideration, Sena II is said to have died in the 35th year of his reign,[1] and Kassapa V in the tenth year[2]. Wickremasinghe and Geiger have taken such cases into consideration and, in their tables, the aggregate period for these five rulers is 92 years instead of Wijesinha's 93. Where the chronicle does not expressly state the last year of a particular king to have been current when he died, Geiger and Wickremasinghe treat the last year as expired, and the latter at intervals adds a year to make up for the fractions left out after expired years.

Can we take the last year as expired of the reigns of those kings who are not expressly stated to have ended their reigns when the last year of each was current ? The *Pūjāvalī* does not refer to any reign as having terminated while its last year was current[3]. According to this source, Sena II, who is stated in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* to have died in his 35th year, reigned for 35 years, and Kassapa V for 10 years. In the *Cūḷavaṁsa* itself, the current year is given invariably when it is a case of stating that a particular king died or was put out of the way ; but when it is a case of giving the length of a reign, the number of years is given, leaving us to guess whether the last year was current or expired when the reign closed. It is, therefore, apparent that the two ways in which the chronicler states the lengths of reigns are dictated purely by literary considerations, and do not have the purpose of making a distinction with regard to the duration of its last year.

In the case of those kings who are stated to have died while a particular regnal year was current, there is no room for ambiguity. When we are told by the chronicler that Sena II "entered into the world of the gods" in the 35th year of his reign, the statement leaves no room for the assumption that the 35th year was expired when he died. His reign must, therefore, be taken

[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Chap. 51, v. 89.

[2] *Ibid*, Chap. 52, v. 81.

[3] B. Gunasekara, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 and 32.

as having lasted 34 years and some months. The ambiguity lies in the other set of figures enumerating the lengths of reigns. It is most unlikely that, during the one and the same period, two different methods were adopted for enumerating the lengths of reigns—that, while one monarch's reign was recorded inclusive of the year which was current when he died, the figure for his successor was given excluding it. As the *Pūjāvalī* consistently makes no difference between the two sets of figures of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, it is reasonable to conclude that the practice at the time was to enumerate the figures for each reign including the year (current, of course) in which the king died.

There is another piece of evidence which supports this view. The Badulla pillar inscription of Udaya IV (III) (946–954) refers to an earlier ruler whose memory, it would seem, was still fresh at the time when this epigraph was set up, under the posthumous title of "the lord who died in his 17th year."[1] Between the reigns of Mahāsena and Udaya IV (III), there is not a single king who, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, died while the 17th year was current. If we take that all those kings, of whom it is not expressly stated that they died while the last regnal year was current, ended their reigns after the last year of the reign given for each of them had expired, "the lord who expired in the 17th year" must be a ruler who, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, reigned for 16 years. But from Mahāsena to Udaya IV (III) there is not a single reign of 16 years in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. On the other hand, if we assume that, when the chronicler states that a particular reign lasted for a certain number of years, the year which was current when the king died was also reckoned in the number of years given for that king, "the lord who expired in the 17th year" must be a king whose reign is given in the chronicle as having lasted 17 years. And Kassapa IV, who ascended the throne about 50 years before Udaya IV (III), is given a reign of seventeen years in the chronicle.

It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the lengths of reigns during this period are given including the year that was current when the reign came to a close. The practice, still prevailing among the Sinhalese, of reckoning the age of a person in current years also supports such a view. The reason for an error in Wijesinha's dates for the kings of the ninth and tenth centuries thus becomes evident. This fact also explains how Wickremasinghe and Geiger were able to reconcile their dates with the

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 86.

South Indian synchronisms, in spite of their having the whole period of Kitti Sirimegha's reign of 19 years, the last being (current), to be continued forward.

In the table that I have prepared, I have, as a rule, taken the traditional lengths of reigns, minus one. But in every reign there must have been a number of months and days in addition to the last completed year. There is, of course, no way of determining exactly how far the last year that was current had run its course when a particular reign ended. A reign given as 20 years could actually have been 19 years and 1 month, while another enumerated as 18 might conceivably have been 17 years and 10 months. To make up for these fractions of years I have, as a rule, taken one reign after two or three as having had the last year completed, deviating from this course where necessary to reconcile a date with a synchronism. Computing the lengths of reigns on this principle, and taking the date of Mahāsena given in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* as the starting point, I have succeeded in preparing a chronological list up to Mahinda V, so as to fit in with the Chinese and South Indian synchronisms referred to above, even though Kitti Sirimegha's reign of 19 years had to be taken into account.

Some notes with regard to these synchronisms in relation to the revised chronology are called for. The reference to Mahānāma in Chinese texts has been dealt with. According to our chronology, the mission which arrived in China in 527 falls within the reign of Silākāla (518–531). We have already given reasons why Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya, whose name is mentioned in connection with this mission, cannot be Kassapa I. Other rulers who bore the name of Kassapa were too late in date to be considered in this connection. The identity of this ruler has, therefore, to be established, in my opinion, by taking into consideration the second element in the name, Kia-lo-ha-li-ya. Sylvain Levi has with diffidence equated this with "Kālahārya", an epithet not known and very unlikely to have been in use among Sinhalese royalty. In my opinion, Kia-lo-ha-li-ya can very well be the Chinese transcription of the sixth century Sinhalese form of an epithet that would have been rendered into Pali as "Kālaselīya" or "Kālaselaka". Such an epithet would have been "Kalahelaya" or "Kalaheliya", according to the stage of phonetic development that the Sinhalese language had undergone in the sixth century.

It would be noticed that "Kālaselīya" or "Kālaselaka" is formed of the two elements in the compound "Silākāla" transposed. It is possible that the two elements of this name or epithet were wrongly transposed by the envoy at

the Chinese court, or that the Chinese scribes were responsible for the transposition. It is also not impossible that the two elements got transposed in course of time during the process of copying the records in Ceylon, or that both forms, "Silākāla" and "Kālaselaka" or "–selīya" were in use. "Kālaselaka" or "–selīya" appears to be the original of the epithet "Kāli" or "Kāliya" associated with Dhātusena in Sinhalese historical writings dating from the 13th century and after. The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, in its account of the reign of Dhātusena, refers to a Buddha image called Kālasela[1], very probably named after an epithet of the king. "Kālasela" appears originally to have been the name of a place, probably in the vicinity of Kālavāpī (Kalāväva) built by Dhātusena.

Neither "Silākāla" nor "Kālaselaka (–selīya)" is a personal name. "Ambasāmaṇera" (Sinhalese "Aṁbaheraṇa"), by which Silākāla is also referred to, was a nickname. "Salamevan" added to "Aṁbaheraṇa" was a throne name. The historical writings of Ceylon have thus omitted to give the personal name of this ruler. As such it is permissible to assume that Kia-che (Kāśyapa) was really the personal name of Silākāla. A passage in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* itself appears to support this conclusion. Before Silākāla captured the throne, he had to contend against his brother-in-law, prince Kassapa, the son of Upatissa II,[2] and, in the chronicle's account of one of these encounters between the rival princes, Kassapa, the son of Upatissa II, is qualified by the epithet *jeṭṭho*. Geiger translates the word as 'the eldest (son of the king)', but the chronicle definitely states that Upatissa II had only one son. If both the contending princes were named Kassapa, the older in point of age could have been referred to as *jeṭṭho*. Very probably, it was so recorded in the sources to which the author of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* gave literary form, and his omission of the personal name of Silākāla, if he took over *jeṭṭho* from earlier records, has left that word with its significance uncertain.

The *Nikāyasaṁgraha* gives B. E. 1088 (544–5 A.D.) as the twelfth year of Silākāla, making 533–4 A.D. the date of his accession. This date, however, is at variance with that arrived at by computing from the date given for Mahāsena in the same work. The reconciliation of the two dates, therefore, is only possible by arbitrarily deducting from the lengths of intervening reigns—a procedure for which there is no justification. The date given in the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* for the 12th year of Silākāla has thus to be rejected as

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[1] Chap. 38, v. 65.

[2] *Ibid*, chap. 41, v. 8 ff.

an error. Neither Wickremasinghe nor Geiger has been able to fit this date into the chronological system.

In the reign of Aggabodhi II, a king of Kāliṅga, "whose mind was disturbed when he saw the death of living beings in war", came to Ceylon and entered the Buddhist Order.[1] Codrington is of opinion that the Kāliṅga monarch became an exile as a consequence of the invasion of his country by Pulakeśin II[2] and, according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, this event took place in 609.[3] This is quite in accord with the date of Aggabodhi II, 606-615, in the present revised chronology.

Mānavamma, according to our chronology, came to the throne in or about 684. The Pallava who provided Mānavamma with military forces for his second and successful bid for the throne must, therefore, be Narasiṁhavarman II (*circa* 680–720), and not the first of that name, as is generally believed. The earlier unsuccessful attempt by Mānavamma to capture the sovereignty with Pallava aid took place, according to the chronicle, when Dāṭhopatissa II (Hatthadāṭha) was ruling Ceylon. The reign of Dāṭhopatissa II, according to the present chronology, lasted from 659 to 667, and the Pallava ruler at that time was Narasiṁhavarman I (*circa* 630–668). According to Geiger's chronology, too, Mānavamma captured the throne with Pallava aid after Narasiṁhavarman I had ceased to reign. Wickremasinghe places the accession of Mānavamma in 668, the last year of the period attributed to Narasiṁhavarman I. But the dates of Pallava kings of this period are only approximate, and it is not improbable that Narasiṁhavarman I was already dead in 668.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa* account of Mānavamma's career[4] mentions only one monarch, named Narasīha, who befriended this prince and furnished him with military forces for both his attempts to capture the Sinhalese throne. In spite of the admirable literary skill with which the author of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* has dealt with the subject, or rather as a consequence of this, it is not impossible that the chronicler has misunderstood his sources, which could easily have happened if the two monarchs who aided Mānavamma on two different occasions were both named Narasiṁhavarman. In fact, the narrative of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* itself, when critically examined, contains evidence throwing

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 42, v. 44 f.

[2] *Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 35 and 51.

[3] G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 1920, p. 93.

[4] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chapter 47.

doubt on the statement that the king who despatched to Ceylon an expeditionary force which placed Mānavamma on the throne was identical with the monarch who earlier did the same, but failed to achieve that purpose.

When Mānavamma landed in Ceylon with his first Pallava army, Dāṭhopastissa II, who was then ruling Ceylon, fled from the capital. Mānavamma, with a small force, followed in pursuit. The major part of the invading forces left behind at the capital, in the meantine, left for India, having received tidings that their lord (i.e., Narasiṁhavarman) was smitten with a fell disease (*mahāroga*). Mānavamma was thus exposed to great danger, but managed to escape back to the Pallava court, where he had to remain nearly twenty years before he was furnished with a second expeditionary force.

Now, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa* account, Narasiṁha was very anxious to help his friend Mānavamma gain the sovereignty of Ceylon, and it was for this purpose that he went to the length of equipping and despatching an expeditionary force at great cost. And the bulk of this expeditionary force returned home, not only without achieving this purpose, but also leaving Mānavamma in great peril. If the report of Narasiṁha's serious illness, which prompted the commanders of the expeditionary force to act in the manner they did, was false, or if Narasiṁha recovered from the illness if the report was true, that monarch would have been greatly enraged at the failure of his military commanders to carry out his behests. As he was so bent on helping his friend Mānavamma, it is difficult to believe that he would have remained inactive for so long as nearly twenty years before he again thought of succouring his protégé.

On the other hand, if the report of Narasiṁha's serious illness received by the Pallava expeditionary force in Ceylon was true, and if Narasiṁha in fact succumbed to that disease, a new king (Mahendravarman II) would have been on the Pallava throne when Mānavamma returned to South India after his failure. And this king might not have had the same friendly attitude towards Mānavamma as Narasiṁhavarman I had had. Moreover, a monarch who had just succeeded to the throne would not have considered it politic to embark on adventures abroad. If our interpretation of the facts be correct, and the return of Mānavamma after his failure in Ceylon coincided with the accession of Mahendravarman II, the Pallava power at that time had to be in readiness for meeting possible attacks by the

Western Cālukyas, who had by then recovered from the crushing blow dealt them by Narasiṁhavarman I in 642, and would have been in no mood to undertake military commitments on behalf of the Sinhalese prince.

If we assume that both the Pallava expeditions in aid of Mānavamma were undertaken by Narasiṁhavarman I, the first one, between which and the second there was an interval of nearly twenty years, should have taken place not long after the sack of Vātāpi, and the Vallabha king, in whose repulse Mānavamma, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, had played a distinguished part, was the Western Cālukya Pulakeśin II. From South Indian sources we know that, not long after Pulakeśin's attack on the Pallava dominions was thrust back, Narasiṁhavarman I carried the war to the enemy's own territory, and succeeded in capturing and destroying the very capital of the Cālukyas. In the *Cūḷavaṁsa* account, there is no mention of Narasīha pursuing the Vallabha king to the latter's own territory. As Mānavamma's part in repelling the Vallabha king is extolled in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, that chronicle would not have omitted to mention it if Mānavamma accompanied Narasiṁhavarman's army on its march to the Western Cālukya capital. And, if it was the invaders under Pulakeśin II whom Mānavamma assisted to drive back, it is difficult to imagine that the latter would not have taken part in the counter invasion.

If, on the other hand, the second Pallava expedition in aid of Mānavamma took place in the early years of Narasiṁhavarman II, the first expedition was undertaken towards the close of the reign of Narasiṁhavarman I. And, as we have shown above, it can be inferred that Narasiṁhavarman I, in fact, died while that expeditionary force was in Ceylon, or immediately after its return home. The Vallabha king who was repelled by Narasiṁhavarman with the aid of Mānavamma cannot thus be identified with Pulakeśin II. He must be Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakeśin II, who restored the power of the Western Cālukyas after the period of confusion which followed Narasiṁhavarman's sack of Vātāpi, and ascended the throne in 655.[1] Vikramāditya I had the title of Srī Vallabha, and in his Gadvāl Plates claims to have defeated Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Parameś-varavarman I.[2] Vikramāditya I's invasion of the Pallava territories must have taken place towards the end of the reign of Narasiṁhavarman I. It

[1] Nilakanta Sastri, *History of India*, part I, p. 226.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 100-106.

was no doubt repulsed, and it was in this defence of the Pallava dominions against Vikramāditya Śrī Vallabha that Mānavamma took a part.

Narasiṁhavarman I must thus have been an old man when Mānavamma, barely in his twenties, went to his court[1]. This is suggested in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* statement that, when Mānavamma was leaving for Ceylon with the first expedition, Narasīha "wept as for a son that goes to a far country".[2] Mānavamma, according to the above interpretation of the facts, first arrived at the Pallava court in the reign of Narasiṁhavarman I, remained there during the brief reign of Mahendravarman II and the whole of the reign of Parameśvaravarman I, until Narasiṁhavarman II came to the throne. The statement in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*[3] that Mānavamma "during the reigns of four kings stayed there" (at the Pallava court) can thus be taken as referring to four kings in the Pallava country. The date that we have assigned to Mānavamma is thus in accord with the known historical facts of the period relating to Ceylon as well as to South India.

Narasiṁhavarman II, the contemporary of Mānavamma, is referred to in Chinese writings as Na-lo-seng-kia pou-to kia-mo (Narasiṁha Potakarman, i.e., Potavarman). Vajrabodhi, the Mahāyāna teacher, visited Kāñcī in 689 when that king was reigning. Vajrabodhi also visited Ceylon twice. The king who received him during his first visit is not mentioned by name. Chi-li-chi-lo (Śrī- Ṣila), the Sinhalese ruler who received Vajrabodhi during his second visit, cannot be identified by name with a monarch mentioned in the chronicles. These references,[4] therefore, are not of much significance for purposes of Sinhalese chronology. Vajrabodhi's pupil, Amoghavajra, arrived in China as the envoy of the Sinhalese king, Chi-lo-mi-kia (Śilāmegha) in 746. In 742 also, the same Sinhalese king, it is recorded in Chinese annals, sent an ambassador to the Son of Heaven.[5] These dates fall within the reign of Aggabodhi VI, who bore the epithet of Silāmegha and whose long reign of forty years began, according to our chronology, in 733.

There is a synchronism with South Indian history which has not been considered in its relation to Sinhalese chronology. I refer to the Pāṇḍyan

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[1] When his father Kassapa II died, Mānavamma and his brothers were "not yet in ripe years, children without much sense" (*Cv.*, 45, 6). Dāṭhopatissa II succeeded Kassapa II and reigned for nine years, and Mānavamma fights Dāṭhopatissa with Narasiṁha's aid.

[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 47, v. 34.

[3] *Ibid*, chap. 47, v. 43.

[4] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 87–89.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 86.

expedition of Sena II, of which the *Cūḷavaṁsa* has given a sober account.[1] The expedition was undertaken for the purpose of securing the Pāṇḍyan throne for a prince who had solicited Sena II's aid, and thereby to wipe out the disgrace of the reign of Sena I, when a Pāṇḍyan invader dictated his own terms to the Sinhalese king. Sena II's expedition was a brilliant success. Madhurā was captured, and Sena II's protégé was placed on the Pāṇḍyan throne. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of the Ceylon chronicle with regard to this campaign. There are inscriptions of Sena II in which the epithet of *Madhura-pahaḷa* is prefixed to that monarch's *viruda* of Siri-saṅgabo, e.g., an unpublished pillar inscription, bearing the 22nd regnal year, from a place named Moragahavela in the Nuvaragam Kōraḷe of the Anurādhapura District, and another pillar inscription, of which the regnal year is missing, from Pudukkuḷama in the same Kōraḷe[2]. *Madhura-pahaḷa* means " he who smote or captured Madhurā ", and is precisely of the same significance as " Madirai-koṇḍa ", proudly assumed about half a century later by the Coḷa king Parāntaka I. Kassapa V, the son of Sena II, refers to his father, in his inscriptions, as "the great king who won the fame of victory by conquering the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth year after the raising of the canopy of dominion."[3] The epithet *Madhurā-dunu* (the conqueror of Madhurā) is given to Sena II in the Mädirigiri pillar inscription of Kassapa V.[4] The Sinhalese forces despatched by Sena II invaded the Pāṇḍya country to support the cause of a prince of that land unjustly treated by the king who was reigning at the time. This prince, no doubt, must have had his sympathisers who, we may expect, rallied round him when he landed with strong forces to back him. The statement in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* that the Sinhalese army arrived in Madhurā before the Pāṇḍya king had had time to muster his forces is thus explained. In the circumstances, the Sinhalese forces achieved their objective without prolonged fighting. The Pāṇḍya king lost his life, and the prince supported by Sena II was installed on the throne. The account thus has all signs of plausibility, and makes no demands on our credulity. There is also nothing improbable in it if the Pāṇḍya prince,

[1] Chap. 51, vv. 22–51.

[2] These two inscriptions are given, respectively, as Nos. 29 and 80 in the list appearing at p. 12 of *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1900.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 42–43.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 30. Wickremasinghe has wrongly read the epithet as *Mayurā-dunu*; but Bell has pointed out the error. See *Ca.* Vol. III, p. 24.

set up on the throne by the Sinhalese, stabilised his position and was accepted by his people.

Attempts have been made to identify the prince for whom Sena II secured the throne of Madhurā with Māyāpāṇḍya, an impostor, whom the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha put out of the way [1], or with Ugra, a pretender, whom Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa, Śrīmāra's younger son, vanquished[1]. Neither of these proposed identifications squares with the facts as narrated in the Ceylon chronicle. The Pāṇḍya king against whom Sena II intervened is said to have lost his life as a consequence, whereas Śrīmāra prevailed against Māyāpāṇḍya, and Parāntaka against Ugra. Moreover, the prince whose cause Sena II espoused is said, in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, to have been " a son of the Paṇḍu king (*Paṇḍurāja-kumārako*) "; neither Māyāpāṇḍya nor Ugra is stated to have been so related to the king against whom each contended.

In my opnion, Rai Bahadur Venkayya is right when he suggests that it was Varaguṇa II, the son of Śrīmāra, who sought Sena II's help to secure the Pāṇḍya throne.[3] If we accept this position, the date of Varaguṇa's accession must be the same as that of Sena II's capture of Madhurā, or slightly later. An inscription found at Aivarmalai, in the Madhurā District, couples Śaka 792 with the eighth year of Varaguṇa[4]; that king's accession must, therefore, have taken place in 862 A.D. We have already referred to the epigraphical evidence from Ceylon, according to which Sena II's Pāṇḍya campaign has to be referred to his ninth year. Sena II, accordingly, came to the throne in 853. The same date we have arrived at by calculating backwards, adding up the lengths of the intervening reigns, making due allowance for the current years at the death of each king, from the date of the capture of Mahinda V, as that event has been fixed by Hultzsch from the evidence of the inscriptions of Rājendra-Coḷa. Geiger, computing from the same data, has arrived at 851 as the year of Sena II's accession. The slight discrepancy is due to Geiger not making enough allowance for current years. This satisfactory position with regard to the chronology lends support to Venkayya's suggestion regarding the identity of the Pāṇḍya protégé of Sena II.

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1 *A. R. E.* for 1908, p. 68 and Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 69 f.

2 Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 141.

3 *A. R. E.* for 1908, p. 68. Nilakanta Sastri, in his *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (London, Luzac & Co., 1929, p. 72) has controverted this suggestion of Venkayya, and attempts to discredit the Sinhalese chronicle. In his more mature work, (*History of India*, part I, Madras, 1950, p. 233), however, that able historian accepts the testimony of the Ceylon chronicle with regard to this event, and identifies Varaguṇa II with the Pāṇḍya protégé of Sena II.

4 No. 705 in *A. R. E.* for 1905.

The *Nikāyasaṁgraha* gives 1362 B.E. (819 A.D.) as the first year of Sena I, the predecessor of Sena II. This would give 838 as the date of Sena II's accession. Computing the periods of the reigns of the succeeding kings on the basis of this date for Sena I would clash with the synchronisms furnished by Coḷa records, and also with computations from other dates given in the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* itself. This date for Sena I, found in the printed editions of the *Nikāyasaṁgraha* has, therefore, to be rejected as an error.

The synchronisms provided by the inscriptions of Parāntaka I fit in well with the dates that we have calculated for Ceylon kings of the period. The battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya king, backed by an army provided by Kassapa V, challenged the Coḷa king and was defeated, took place about 915 A.D.[1]; Kassapa V, according to our chronology, reigned from 914 to 923.

On this occasion, however, there is no mention, either in Sinhalese or Coḷa records, that Parāntaka's forces crossed over to Ceylon, and it has, therefore, been inferred that the epithet of "Conqueror of Ceylon" could not have been assumed by the Coḷa king as a consequence of the defeat of the Sinhalese army despatched to South India by Kassapa V[2]. Hultzsch, following Venkayya, stated that the earliest inscription of Parāntaka, which calls him the "Conqueror of Ceylon", dates from his 37th year, i.e., 943–44[3]. The Coḷa invasion of Ceylon in the reign of Udaya IV[4] falls within the last years of Parāntaka, and it has been held that it was this campaign which justified the epithet of "Conqueror of Ceylon" in inscriptions of his 37th year and later. According to this line of reasoning, Udaya IV should have come to the throne at the latest in 943. Wickremasinghe has adjusted his figures to suit what appeared at the time to be an exact date. Geiger, though he accepted the conclusion of Venkayya and Hultzsch with regard to the Coḷa invasion in the reign of Udaya IV, has gone against that acceptance by giving the date of that monarch's accession as 945.

Two inscriptions from Tiruppuṟambiyam, one dated in the 8th year and the other in the 16th year of Parāntaka, discovered in 1927, refer to that monarch as "the conqueror of Madurā and Īḻam[5]". The theory that it

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[1] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Vol. I, p. 146.

[2] K. V. Subrahamanya Ayyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 218.

[3] *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, p. 525.

[4] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Chap. 53, vv. 40–47.

[5] *A. R. E.* for 1926-27. Nos. 332 and 321 of Appendix C, p. 52.

was the invasion of Ceylon in the reign of Udaya IV which gave occasion for Parāntaka to assume this epithet has accordingly to be given up. The synchronism is not so exact as it was held by Hultzsch, and it is not necessary to take liberties with the traditional regnal years in order to make Udaya IV come to the throne in 942, as Wickremasinghe has done[1]. An inscription at Kūram, dated in the 40th year of Parāntaka, refers to the king as Parakeśari who took Madurā and entered Ceylon (*Madirai koṇḍ-Īḻam pugunda*)[2]. The reference here is most probably to the invasion of Ceylon in the reign of Udaya IV, which must, therefore, have taken place in or before 947. The date of Udaya IV in our chronological table accords with this evidence.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa*[3] states that, in the reign of Mahinda IV, a king named Vallabha landed in Nāgadīpa (Jaffna Peninsula) with hostile intentions, and was defeated by the general Sena who was sent to meet the invader. In chapter 47, vv. 15, 18 and 24 of the *Cūḷavaṁsa,* the epithet Vallabha is a designation of the Western Cālukya ruler. The title was applicable to any member of the Western Cālukya dynasty or of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa which supplanted it[4]. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Coḷas in 949 A.D., is called Kaṇṇaradeva-Vallabha in an inscription at Sōḻapuram[5]. In his Karhaḍ plates, dated 959, Kṛṣṇa III boasts that he carried his arms as far south as Rāmeśvaram, and levied tribute, among others, from the king of Ceylon. On the date of this grant, Kṛṣṇa III was still at his camp at Mēlpāḍi at the end of his southern campaign[6]; and, if he extended his military operations to the north of Ceylon, that event must have taken place in or about 958, a date which falls within the reign of Mahinda IV. Vallabha, the opponent of Mahinda IV, may, therefore, be taken as this Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror. The *Cūḷavaṁsa* states that he entered into a friendly treaty with the Sinhalese king when he found that he could not vanquish the latter. We may suppose that the honours were even, and that both sides could claim successes.

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[1] In order to reconcile 942 as the date of Udaya IV's accession with 981 as the initial year of Mahinda V, Wickremasinghe gives a total of 39 years to Udaya IV and his three successors, whereas, according to the chronicle, the total period of the duration of these four reigns could not have exceeded 37 years.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

[3] Chap. 54, vv. 12–16.

[4] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 84.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 289.

Codrington, who first suggested the identification of Vallabha with Kṛṣṇa III, has later favoured the view that this epithet is the same as Tamil *vaḷavaṉ* and denotes "the Coḷa king[1]". Nowhere else in the chronicle has the Coḷa been referred to by the epithet "Vallabha", and it is doubtful whether a Ceylon writer, when he wished to refer to a dynasty so well-known to him, would have gone to the Tamil poets in search of a title for it. On the other hand, there is evidence for an unsuccessful Coḷa invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Mahinda IV. The *Pūjāvalī*[2] records that Mahinda IV vanquished a Tamil king who landed at Hūrātoṭa (Kayts) from the Coḷa country. Coḷa inscriptions refer to a general of Parāntaka II (Sundara Coḷa) named Parāntakaṉ Śiriyavēlār, who lost his life on a battle field in Ceylon in the third year of that king, i.e., about 959[3],. It appears, therefore, that Kṛṣṇa III, during his occupation of the Coḷa country, and Parāntaka II, just when the Coḷas were recovering from the blow dealt them by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, both sent military expeditions to the northern tip of this Island, and that Mahinda IV successfully countered their designs. Whether we take Vallabha to mean the Rāṣṭrakūṭa or the Coḷa monarch, the synchronism falls within the reign of Mahinda IV, which, according to our table, lasted from 956 to 972. The Vessagiri slab-inscription of Mahinda IV, dated in the ninth regnal year, refers to the military success of his general Sena against Indian enemies[4], and the date of Śiriyavēlār's death as well as that of Kṛṣṇa III's southern campaign is prior to the ninth year of Mahinda IV, as we have fixed the period of his reign.

I accept, as do Wickremasinghe and Geiger, Hultzsch's conclusion that Mahinda V was taken captive by the Coḷas in 1017[5]; but, for reasons given at p. 165 in dealing with the Kapārārāma Sanskrit inscription, I take that 982, not 981, was the year in which that unfortunate monarch ascended the throne.

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[1] *Ca.*, Vol. IV, p. 35 and *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. 39 and 53.

[2] B. Gunasekara, *op. cit.*, p. 32. This king is called Kuḍā Midel in the *Pūjāvalī*.

[3] Nilakanta Sastri, *Coḷas*, Vol. I, p. 186 and K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 236.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 34–35. The reference in this inscription does not help to decide the question whether the enemy Mahinda IV had had to deal with was the Coḷa or the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's statement that this inscription "implies that the invaders were Tamils" (*Coḷas*, I, p. 186, n. 4) receives no support from the epigraph.

[5] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1913, p. 523.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

King	Date in Buddhist era	Date in Christian era [1]
Mahāsena	818–844	275–301
Sirimeghavaṇṇa	844–871	301–328
*Jeṭṭhatissa II [2]	871–880	328–337
Buddhadāsa	880–908	337–365
Upatissa I	908–949	365–406
* Mahānāma	949–971	406–428
Sotthisena [3]	971	428
Chattagāhaka [4]	971	428
* Mittasena	971–972	428–429
Seven Tamils	972–998	429–455
* Dhātusena	998–1016	455–473
* Kassapa I	1016–1034	473–491
Moggallāna	1034–1051	491–508
Kumāradāsa	1051–1059	508–516
* Kittisena	1059–1060	516–517
Siva	1060	517
Upatissa II	1060–1061	517–518
* Silākāla	1061–1074	518–531
Dāṭhāppabhuti [5]	1074	531
* Moggallāna II	1074–1094	531–551
Kitti Sirimegha	1094–1112	551–569
Mahānāga [6]	1112–1114	569–571
Aggabodhi I	1114–1147	571–604
* Aggabodhi II	1147–1157	604–614

[1] The dates being approximate, 543 has been uniformly deducted from the Buddhist era, no allowance being made for the fact that the Buddhist era begins after the Christian year had run its course for four months.

[2] Reigns of which the last year is taken as expired so as to make up for the fractions of years left over from the reigns of which the last year is taken as current are indicated by an asterisk.

[3] Murdered on the day of accession.

[4] Slain 25 days after the day of accession.

[5] This king reigned for only six months; the last year of the next king's reign has been taken as expired in order to account for this reign as well as any fractions of years left from previous reigns.

[6] Between Mahānāga and Aggabodhi I, *Pūjāvalī* has a king named Lämäṇi Siṁha and Saladaḷabōnā, who is credited with a reign of nine years. This seems to have been an alternate name of another king wrongly placed and given a separate reign.

King	*Date in Buddhist era*	*Date in Christian era* [1]
Saṁghatissa [2]	1157	614
Moggallāna III	1157–1162	614–619
* Silāmeghavaṇṇa	1162–1171	619–628
Aggabodhi III	1171	628
Jeṭṭhatissa III	1171	628
Aggabodhi III [3] (restored)	1172–1182	629–639
Dāṭhopatissa I	1182–1193	639–650
* Kassapa II	1193–1202	650–659
Dappula [4]	1202	659
Dāṭhopatissa II	1202–1210	659–667
* Aggabodhi IV	1210–1226	667–683
Datta	1226–1227	683–684
Hatthadāṭha [5]	1227	684
Mānavamma	1227–1261	684–718
* Aggabodhi V	1261–1267	718–724
Kassapa III	1267–1273	724–730
* Mahinda I	1273–1276	730–733
Aggabodhi VI	1276–1315	733–772
Aggabodhi VII	1315–1320	772–777
* Mahinda II	1320–1340	777–797
Udaya I (Dappula II)	1340–1344	797–801
Mahinda III	1344–1347	801–804
* Aggabodhi VIII	1347–1358	804–815
Dappula II (III)	1358–1374	815–831
Aggabodhi IX	1374–1376	831–833
* Sena I	1376–1396	833–853

[1] The dates being approximate, 543 has been uniformly deducted from the Buddhist era, no allowance being made for the fact that the Buddhist era begins after the Christian year had run its course for four months.

[2] The length of this reign, not given in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, is stated to have been two months in the *Pūjāvalī*.

[3] The narrative of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* for the reigns from Aggabodhi III to Dāṭhopatissa is very confused. The reign of Aggabodhi III is given as sixteen years. But, after he was forced to flight in his twelfth year the regnal years of Dāṭhopatissa, his rival, must have begun and continued. He came back for a short while but was forced again to retire to Rohaṇa where he died in his sixteenth year. There is, however, no evidence in the chronicle to take, as Geiger has done, that Dāṭhopatissa's twelve years were included in the sixteen of Aggabodhi III, or that the eight years of Kassapa II's reign ran concurrently with the regnal years of Dāṭhopatissa I, as Wickremasinghe has done.

[4] Reigned for seven days only.

[5] This ruler's reign lasted for only six months.

King	*Date in Buddhist era*	*Date in Christian era*[1]
Sena II	1396–1430	853–887
* Udaya II (I)	1430–1441	887–898
Kassapa IV	1441–1457	898–914
Kassapa V	1457–1466	914–923
* Dappula III (IV)[2]	1466–1467	923–924
Dappula IV (V)	1467–1478	924–935
* Udaya III (II)	1478–1481	935–938
Sena III	1481–1489	938–946
* Udaya IV (III)	1489–1497	946–954
Sena IV	1497–1499	954–956
* Mahinda IV	1499–1515	956–972
* Sena V	1515–1525	972–982
Mahinda V	1525–1562	982–1029

No. 8. HIṄGUREGALA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

By S. Paranavitana

HIṄGUREGALA is a rock situated three miles to the north of Vällavāya in the Kōraḷe of the same name in the Ūva province. Meagre remains of a *stūpa,* rough blocks of stone with sockets used as bases for wooden pillars, and fragments of tiles and bricks indicate the existence, in ancient days, of a *vihāra* on this rock, of which an area 24 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. 10 in. is covered with deeply engraved letters ranging in height from 7½in. to 3 in. A few letters of this epigraph, one of the largest found anywhere in the Island, are illegible; but, on the whole, it is fairly well preserved.

Müller has included this inscription as No. 78 of his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon.* Says Müller: "I have spent a good time in order to get a fair copy. I also tried to make a transcript, but I had to give it up again after a certain while, as I could not find out a single clear sentence". Müller goes on to quote some extracts from his transcript, in order to show "how utterly careless the engravers were at that time", and ends his study of this record with the words: "It would be a useless attempt to bring order

[1] The dates being approximate, 543 has been uniformly deducted from the Buddhist era, no allowance being made for the fact that the Buddhist era begins after the Christian year had run its course for four months.

[2] The fractions of years for previous reigns have been added to this which lasted for only seven months.

into this confusion". It is quite clear that this old epigraph has exasperated Müller; any epigraphist who would attempt to read the writing on this stone would no doubt sympathise with him. The ecclesiastics of the monastery which existed on this site in ancient days no doubt considered the immense labour of covering such a large area of rock surface with writing necessary for establishing their claim to certain fields, but a modern investigator, who attempts to decipher the script with the hope of obtaining information about the political, social or economic conditions which prevailed in the past, may not consider his labours recompensed when the result is hardly anything more than names of fields now no more, and of individuals who have left no imprint on history. The record, however, is of some interest palaeographically and linguistically ; it is edited here for that reason.

It is only by means of the palaeographical evidence that a date can be assigned to this record, which does not refer itself to the regnal year of the king who was ruling at the time it was indited. Dr. Müller has ascribed it to the fourth century. It may, however, be of that, or of the succeeding century. Comparing the **script** of this document with that of the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇa[1], we notice that the forms of certain letters in our record have undergone further development. In the *ṇa* of our record, the horizontal cross bar at the centre extends on both sides of the vertical stroke, whereas, in the Tōṇigala inscription, the corresponding feature is only on the left of the vertical line. The top of *ma* in our record is closed, whereas it is open in the Tōṇigala inscription. The *a* of our record is cursive in comparison with that letter in the Tōṇigala epigraph.

The **language,** too, shows development from the standard of the second and third centuries. *Avaṇa* of our record is the later form of *avaraṇa* (P. *āvaraṇa*) occurring in inscriptions of the third century [2], the prototype of the modern *amuṇa.* The loss of the syllable *ra* due to haplology is noteworthy. The change of intervocalic *p* to *v,* and the dropping of *d* in a similar position, noticed in the word *janavaya* for Skt. *janapada,* can also be reckoned as phonological features that would support the ascription of this document to the fourth or fifth century. The absolutive form, which occurs as *gaṇiya* in records of the second century, is found here as *gaṇa.* The initial *y* in the words *yatana* (*atana* in earlier records) and *yamata* (Skt *amātya*) is paralleled by *yisā* for *isā* in a document about three centuries later [3].

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 172–188, plate 14.
[2] See, for example, the " Jetavanārāma " inscription of Maḷu-Tisa, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 255.
[3] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 171.

The most striking peculiarity of the language of our document, however, is that, with the exception of a very few words, it does not show any vowel other than *a*. The same phonological tendency is noticed in documents of a somewhat later date, for example, in the inscriptions on the steps near the so-called Burrows' Pavilion in the area of the Northern Monastery in Anurādhapura [1], though not to the same extent as in our epigraph. This feature is perhaps the logical outcome of the equalising tendency of vowel-assimilation having had free play without any opposition from the conservative tendency [2]. In many words like *janavaya* (Skt. *janapada*) and *kahavaṇa* (Skt. *karṣāpaṇa*), the vowel *a* in all the syllables is in accord with the etymology, the *u* in certain syllables in the later forms of these words being due to vowel-dissimilation [3]. I am, therefore, of opinion that this peculiarity faithfully represents the actual pronunciation that was affected by the scribe who drafted this document, even in such forms as *vahara* (Skt. *vihāra*) and *baka* (Skt. *bhikṣu*, P. *bhikkhu*). But certain philologists might be inclined to see in this nothing more than an orthographical aberration, and, in order to enable those of this view to restore what they would take to be the "correct" pronunciation, I give here a list of the words in our inscription of which equivalents in the earlier or later linguistic phases exhibit vowels other than *a* in certain syllables.—

Atasama	=Med. Sinh. [4] *atsamu*.
Araba	=Med. Sinh. *arub*.
Avaṇa	=Skt. P. *āvaraṇa* ; O. Sinh. *avaraṇa* ; Med. Sinh. *avuṇu* ; Mod. Sinh. *amuṇu*.
Ubara	=Skt. *urvarā* ; Med. Sinh. *uṁbur*.
Kadavara	=Skt. *skandhāvāra* ; Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *kaňda-vura*.
Kabara	=Skt. *urvarā* ; O. Sinh. *kubara* ; Med. Sinh. *kumbur* ; Mod. Sinh. *kuṁbura*.
Karana	=Mod. Sinh. *kerena*.
Kahaba	=Skt. *Kāśyapa* ; P. *Kassapa* ; Med. and Cl. Sinh. *Kasub*.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 139–140.

[2] See *Sigiri Graffiti*, Introduction, pp. xlvii ff.

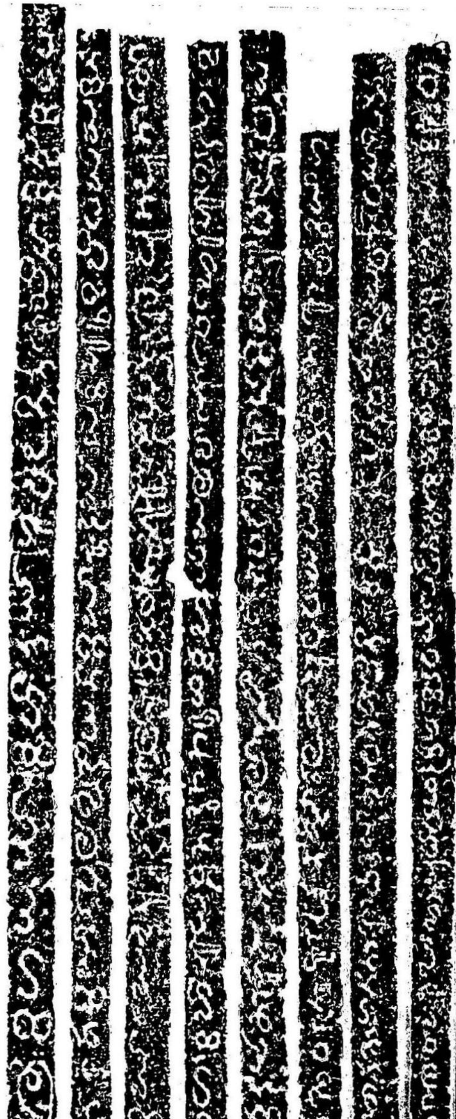
[3] *Ibid*, pp. xlix ff.

[4] In addition to the well-known abbreviations, the following are used: O. Sinh. = Old Sinhalese, the language of Brāhmī inscriptions, 3rd century B.C. to 5th century A.D.; Med. Sinh. = Mediaeval Sinhalese, the language of Sinhalese inscriptions from 8th to 10th centuries, the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvāsannaya* and the *Sikha-Vaḷaňda Vinisa* ; Cl. Sinh. = Classical Sinhalese, and Mod. Sinh. = Modern Sinhalese.

Kahavaṇa	=Skt. *karṣāpaṇa*; P. *kahāpaṇa*; Cl. Sinh. *kahavaṇu*.
Gaṇa	=Pkt. *gaṇhiya*; O. Sinh. *gaṇiya*; Med. and Cl. Sinh. *geṇä*; Mod. Sinh. *geṇa*.
Catalasa	=Skt. *catvāriṁśat*; P. *cattālīsa*; Cl. Sinh. *satalis*; Mod. Sinh. *hatalis*.
Janavaya	=Skt. and P. *janapada*; Med. Sinh. *janavu*; Cl. Sinh. *danavu*.
Da	=Skt. *dvi*; O. Sinh. *do*; Cl., Med. and Mod. Sinh. *de*.
Danaha	=Nom. pl. of P. *dinna*; O. Sinh. *dinahi*; Cl. Sinh. *dunha, dunhu*.
Dayana	=Inst. sing. of P. *daka*; Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *diyen*.
Dava	=Skt. *Deva*; Med. and Cl. Sinh. *Dev*.
Baka	=Skt. *bhikṣu*; P. *bhikkhu*; O. Sinh. *biku*; Med. Sinh. *bik*.
Nayamana	=Skt. P. *niyamena*; Cl. Sinh. *niyamen* or *niyamin*.
Ma [1]	=P. *ima*; O. Med., Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *me*.
Ma [2]	=Skt. *eva*; Med. Sinh. *me* or *ma*; Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *me*.
Yamata	=Skt. *amātya*; O. Sinh. *ameta*; Cl. and Mod. S. *ämati*.
Vaya	=Absolutive of Skt. root *bhū*; Med. and Cl. Sinh. *vi* or *va*.
Vasa	=Skt. *viṁśati*; P. *vīsati*; Med., Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *visi*.
Vasaka	=Skt. *Viśākha*; P. *Visākha*; O. Sinh. *Visaka*.
Vahara	=Skt. and P. *vihāra*; O. Sinh. *vihara*; Med., Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *vehera*.
Sakala	=Skt. and P. *sakala*; Cl. and Mod. Sinh. *siyalu*.
Saṭa	=Skt. *ṣaṣṭi*; P. *saṭṭhi*; Cl. Sinh. *säṭa*; Mod. Sinh. *häṭa*.
Sata	=P. *santaka*; Cl. Sinh. *satu*.
Savaya	=P. *Sīvaka*.
Sasa	=Skt. *śeṣa*; P. *sesa*; Cl. Sinh. *sesu*.

Hiñguregala Rock-Inscription

Scale 5/16 inch to 1 foot



Virañdagoḍa Pillar-Inscription

Scale 1 1/16 inch to 1 foot

The **purport** of the inscription was to register the names of a number of rice fields, with their extents in some cases, which the ancient monastery of the place had purchased from a company of soldiers (*bala*) stationed at a military camp, the name of which is given as Vasaka-vahara. In the case of each transaction, the document gives the names of a number of soldiers who, with an officer styled *yamata* (*amātya*) at their head, came and received a number of *kahāpaṇas* from the hands of officials of the monastery on behalf of the *saṅgha*. The fields, it thus appears, were not the property of any individual soldier, but were held in common by the entire garrison. We can also deduce from the document that the price of one *paya* of field was twenty *kahāpaṇas*; sixty *kahāpaṇas* were paid for three *payas* of field and forty for two *payas*.

Of the **place names** occurring in this epigraph, Mahagama is Mahāgāma of the chronicles, the modern Māgama or Tissa-Mahārāma in the Hambantoṭa District. The others do not admit of identification. The stationing of a military garrison at a place in the vicinity of the site of this epigraph would indicate that, in ancient days, the place commanded an important highway.

TEXT

1. සිඬම් මහග(ම)ජනවයහ කහබතරයතන වසකවහරහි කදවරහි වසන යමත කහබයහ ච
   ම .. (බ)ණ ප[රවර]යහ ච මතතබ දවයහ ච කරඅරබ බොයයහ ච
2. අයවබවය වළබ යසහ ච සස [බ] ල ච ම තිය[මනි] ම වතක ජන එක වය අව ම
   වහිරහ සකල ම[හ*]බක ස[ග*] සගසත කහවණ වහර අතසම [බය]
3. සවයහ ච . . . . සග බලයහ ච වටනි උපලයහ ච ම වතක ජන අතන වි[සි] කහවණ ම
   බල ගෙණ උමනරොදඅ(ද)රඅවණහ දයන කරෙන බදදවරකබර බබකබර දනහ
4. මබල ම වස කහවණ ගණ බබඋබර දනහ ම බල ම වස කහවණ ගණ .... (ක)බර
   දනහ ම බල ම විස කහවණ ගණ උලඋබර දනහ ම නයමන ම දනවයහ
5. . . . . . . මගම පතටයහ ච ගනයගම රටි මබ . . . . ගර නමයයහ ච (ක)රඅර දවයහ
   ච . . යවය වඩයහ ච සස බල ච ම වතක ජන එක වය අව ම වහරහ ස-
6. -කල මහබකසගන සගසත කහවණ ම වහරහ අරබ වහර අතසමන අතන ම බල
   වතලස කහවණ ගණ ගමටතවු අවණහ දයන කරන යහ . . . . .
7. කබර ද පය දිනිහි ම බල ම වස කහවණ ගණ කනබ කබර දනහ ම බල ම වතළස
   කහවණ ගණ කහබග්ල පතනුගඋබර ද පය දනහ ම බල ම වසි කහවණ ග-
8. -ණ(ක)වුණහබියතටකුබර එක ප දනහ ම නයමන ම ජනවයහ මපගරගම ය . . . .
   සනයගමතට සගදවයහ ච කරඅරබ රසයහ ච දහවට බයදවයහ ච
9. සස බල ච ම නයමන ම වතකජන එකවය අව ම වහරහ සකල මහබකසගන සගසත
   කහවණ මෙ වහරහ අරබ වහර අතසමන අතන ම බල සට කහවණ

10. ගණ නමඩපගරගම අවණහ දයන කරන නරපගරගම කහබයඋබර තිණ පය දිනහ ම නයමන මෙ[ෂ]නවයහ ස .. .. බ .. ය මරට සහ උපලයහ ච ක .. ..

11. අරසහ පහ ච දෙව .. .. යරයහ ච සස බල ච ම නයමන ම වතක ජන එක වය අව ම වහරහ සකල මහබකසගන සගසත සට කහවණ ම බල ගණ මරට අවණහ

12. දයන කරන පසරතළක පවලඋබර තිණ පය දනහ ම නයමන ම ජනවයහ ම(ඩ)හබබ.. රහ විසන යම(න ස)ගයහ ච .. .. කර සඵනසයහ ච දසබ .. .. හවු බ-

13. -ලයහ ච සස බල ච ම නයමන ම වතක ජන එක වය අව ම වහරහ සකල මහබක-සගන සගසත වතලස කහවණ අරබ වහර අතසමන අතන ම බල

14. ගණ බබ .. අතර අවණහ දයන කර[න*]කයුඅබලිය කබර දෙ පය දනහ

TRANSLITERATION

1. Siddham [|*] Mahaga(ma)-janavayaha Kahaba-tara-yatan-Vasaka-vaharahi kadavarahi vasana yamata Kahabayaha ca Ma.. (ba)ṇa Paravarayaha ca Mahataba Davayaha ca Karaaraba Boya-ha ca

2. Ayavabavaya Vaḷaba Yasaha ca sasa [ba]la ca ma niya [mani] ma vataka jana eka vaya ava ma vahiraha sakala ma [ha*]-baka-sagana saga-sata kahavaṇa vahara atasamana (Baya)

3. Savayaha ca .. .. saga Balayaha ca Vaṭani Upalayaha ca ma vataka jana atana v[isi] kahavaṇa ma bala geṇa Umana-roda-a(da)ra-avaṇaha dayana karena Badadavara-kabara Baba-kabara danaha [|*]

4. Ma bala ma vasa kahavaṇa gaṇa Baba-ubara danaha [|*] Ma bala ma vasa kahavaṇa gaṇa .. .. .. (ka)bara danaha [|*] Ma bala ma visa kahavaṇa gaṇa Ula-araba danaha [|*] Ma nayamana ma danavayaha

5. .. .. .. ma-gama Pataṭayaha ca Ganaya-gama Raṭi Maba .. .. gara Namayayaha ca (Ka)ra-ara Davayaha ca .. yavaya Cuḍayaha ca sasa bala ca me vataka jana eka vaya ava ma vahara ha sa-

6. -kala maha-baka-sagana saga-sata kahavaṇa ma vaharaha araba vahara atasamana atana ma bala catalasa kahavaṇa gaṇa Gama-ṭataṭu avaṇaha dayana karana Yaha .. .. ..

7. kabara da paya dinihi [|*] Ma bala ma vasa kahavaṇa gaṇa Kanaba .. .. kabara danaha [|*] Ma bala ma catalasa kahavaṇa gaṇa Kahabagala Patanuga-ubara da paya danaha [|*] Ma bala ma vasi kahavaṇa ga-

8. -ṇa (Ka)ṭunahabiya-taṭa-kabara eka pa danaha [|*] Ma nayamana ma janavayaha Mapagara-gama Ya .. .. Sataya-gamataṭa Saga Davayaha ca Kara-araba Rasayaha ca Dahavaṭa Baya Davayaha ca

9. sasa bala ca ma nayamana ma vataka jana eka vaya ava ma vaharaha sakala-maha-baka-sagana saga-sata kahavaṇa me vaharaha araba vahara atasamana atana ma bala saṭa kahavaṇa

10. gaṇa Namaḍapagara-gama avaṇaha dayana karana Narapagara-gama Kahabaya-ubara tiṇa paya dinaha [|*] Ma nayamana me [ja]navayaha .. sa .. .. ba .. ya Maraṭa Sava Upalayaha ca Ka .. ..

11. Arasaha Paha ca Deva .. yarayaha ca sasa bala ca ma nayamana ma vataka jana eka vaya ava ma vaharaha sakala-maha-baka-sagana saga-sata saṭa kahavaṇa ma bala gaṇa Maraṭa-avaṇaha

12. dayana karana Pasara-taḷaka Pacala-ubara tiṇa paya danaha [|*] Ma nayamana ma janavayaha Ma (ḍa)hababa .. raha vasana yama(ta Sa)gayaha ca .. .. kara Satha-tasayaha ca Dasaba .. haṭu Ba-

13. -layaha ca sasa bala ca ma nayamana ma vataka jana eka vaya ava ma vaharaha sakala-maha-baka-sagana saga-sata catalasa kahavaṇa araba vahara atasamana atana ma bala

14. gaṇa Baba .. atara avaṇaha dayana kara [na*] Kayu-abaliya kabara de paya danaha [|*]

TRANSLATION

[Ll. 1–4] Success! Yamata[1] Kahabaya, who resides in the camp of Vasaka-vahara at Kahabatara-yatana[2] in the territory of Mahagama and M .. (ba)ṇa Paravaraya[3] and Mahasaba Davaya and Karaaraba Boya and Ayavabavaya Vaḷaba Yasa and other soldiers—the above-mentioned[4]

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[1] *Yamata*=Skt. *amātya*, "minister". *Saciva*, which is synonymons with *amātya* in Sanskrit, was the title of a high military dignitary in the administrative set-up of the Guptas in India at a period almost contemporary with that of this inscription.

[2] *Yatana* is presumably the same as *atana*, for which see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 181. Perhaps *yatana* as well as *atana* has to be equated with Skt. *āya-sthāna*, "revenue-headquarters", and denoted a revenue district named after its headquarters. *Tara*, in this place-name, as in modern place-names like Bentara, Kalutara, &c., is Skt. *tara* "ford".

[3] Of this name as well as of others occurring in this record, the last syllable *ha* is the termination of the genitive case.

[4] *Ma-vataka* is the same as *me-vataka* in the Tōṇigala inscription of Śrīmeghavarṇa, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 186.

persons having come together [1] and these soldiers having received *kahāpaṇas* belonging to the *saṅgha*, i.e., of the entire community of *bhikkhus* in this *vihāra*, (to the sum of) twenty *kahāpaṇas*, from the hands of the pursers [2] of the monastery, namely, Baya Savaya and .. Saga Balaya and Vaṭani Upalaya—these soldiers having received twenty *kahāpaṇas* from the hands of the persons above named, by this agreement [3] gave Badadavara-kabara and Baba-kabara which are being cultivated [4] with water from the dam [5] at Umanaroda-adara. These same soldiers, having received twenty *kahāpaṇas*, gave Baba-ubara. These same soldiers, having received twenty *kahāpaṇas*, gave . . . . . -kabara. These same soldiers, having received twenty *kahāpaṇas*, gave Ula-araba.

[Ll. 4–7] By this agreement, ... -magama Pahaṭaya and Ganayagama Raṭi Maba .. .. -gara Namayaya and Karaara Davaya and .. yavaya Caḍaya and other soldiers of this territory—these persons above-named having come together and having received forty *kahāpaṇas* (out of) *kahāpaṇas* belonging to the *saṅgha*, i.e., to the entire community of *bhikkhus* in this *vihāra*, from the hands of the trustee of this *vihāra* and the pursers of the *vihāra* [6], these soldiers gave two *payas* of Yaha .. .. -kabara which is being cultivated with water from the Gamaṭa-taṭa dam.

[Ll. 7–8] These same soldiers, having received twenty *kahāpaṇas*, gave Kanaba .. .. -kabara. These same soldiers, having received forty *kahāpaṇas*

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[1] *Eka vaya ava* : *Ek vī ava* in classical Sinhalese. The subjects being in the genitive case, *ava* must be taken as in the conditional mood, " when come ".

[2] *Ata-samana* : See note 6, below.

[3] *Nayamana* : *Niyama* in Sanskrit has the meaning of " agreement ", see Monier-Williams, *s. v.*

[4] *Karena*, literally " being done ".

[5] *Avaṇa* : See above, pp. 39–40.

[6] *Araba, atasamana* : *Araba* and *atasama* (gen. *atasamana*) are, respectively, the earlier forms of *arub* and *assam* which occur in certain tenth-century inscriptions as designations of royal officers. (See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 43, n. 6.) From the present inscription, it is clear that *araba* and *atasamana* paid funds belonging to the monastery on behalf of the *saṅgha*, in a transaction relating to land. With this information to guide us, we may take *araba* as equivalent to Skt. *arpya*, "one to be entrusted with", and render the term into English as " trustee ". The duties that the *araba* performed correspond to those of a trustee. This same information would support us in equating *ata* of *ata-samana* with Skt. *artha* with the meaning of " substance ", " wealth ", " property ", &c. *Sama*, which occurs in the tenth century as *samu*, is perhaps to be derived from Skt. *samudga*, "casket " or " box ". If this derivation of *sama* be accepted, *ata-sama* may be taken as denoting a functionary entrusted with the box or casket in which the valuables belonging to the monastery were kept. But philologists who claim to be able to measure the exact degree of phonological change that a word should undergo within a given time, might say that, in the period to which the present inscription belongs, Skt. *samudga* could not have become *sama* or *samu*. It is possible that *sama* is equivalent to Skt. *svāmin*. Whatever the exact derivation of the second member of this compound may be, we would be correctly interpreting the word *atasama* in rendering it into English by " purser ".

gave two *payas* of Patanaga-ubara [1] at Kahabagala. These same soldiers, having received twenty *kahāpaṇas*, gave one *paya* of Kaṭunahabiya-taṭa-kabara.

[Ll. 8–10]. . . .By this agreement, Ya. . . .Sataya-gamatata Saga Davaya and Karaaraba Rasaya and Dahavaṭa Boya Davaya and other soldiers—by this agreement, the above named persons having come together, and these soldiers having received sixty *kahāpaṇas* out of the *kahāpaṇas* belonging to the *saṅgha*, (i.e.) of the entire community of *bhikkhus* in this *vihāra*, from the hands of the trustee of this *vihāra* and the pursers of the *vihāra*, gave three *payas* of Kahabaya-ubara at Narapagara-gama, which is being cultivated with water from the dam of Namaḍapagaragama.

[Ll. 10–12] By this agreement, ... sa . . . . ba . . . . ya ma raṭa Sava Upalaya and Ka . . . . Arasaha Paha and Deva . . . . yara and other soldiers of this territory—by this agreement, the above-mentioned persons having come together, and these soldiers having received sixty *kahāpaṇas* belonging to the *saṅgha*, (i.e.) to the entire community of *bhikkhus* in this *vihāra*, gave three *payas* of Pasara-taṭaka Pacala-ubara which is being cultivated with water from the dam of Maraṭa.

[Ll. 12–14] .. .. By this agreement, Yamata Sagaya who resides at Maḍahababa . . . . raha in this territory and . . . . kara Satha Tasaya and Dasaba. .haṭu Balaya and other soldiers—by this agreement, these above-mentioned persons having come together, and these soldiers having received forty *kahāpaṇas*, out of the *kahāpaṇas* belonging to the *saṅgha*, (i.e.) the entire great community of *bhikkhus* in this *vihāra*, from the hands of the trustee and the pursers of the *vihāra*, gave two *payas* of Kayuabaliya-kabara, which is being cultivated with water from the dam of Baba. .atara.

No. 9. VIRAÑDAGOḌA PILLAR-INSCRIPTION

By S. Paranavitana

THIS record is engraved on an octagonal pillar found at a ruined shrine near the Vihāra cave on an ancient site, now called Virañdagoḍa, in the Rājavanni Pattu of the Puttalam District—situated in the dense jungle three miles to the north of Puliyankuḷam, a village seventeen miles from Puttalam

[1] See above, p. 86, 1, n.

on the Anurādhapura road. Two cave inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script from Virañdagoḍa have been included as No. 26 in Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*. The ancient monastery at Virañdagoḍa was partially cleared in 1911 by H. C. P. Bell, who made copies of fourteen inscriptions from the site—six cave records in the early Brāhmī script, and eight short epigraphs in the script of the fifth to seventh centuries [1]. Neither Müller nor Bell has made any reference to the epigraph which is the subject of the present paper ; it was discovered by Mr. W. E. Fernando, then an officer of the Archæological Department, who was sent to Virañdagoḍa in 1940 to prepare estampages of the inscriptions at the site.

The pillar is about 8 ft. in height, each of the facets being 4 in. in width. The lines of writing run vertically from the bottom on all the eight facets of the pillar. The letters, which have been carefully engraved, range in height between 1½ in. and 4 in. The weathering has affected the writing in a number of places, but hardly any letter has become totally illegible.

The **script** is attributable to a period earlier than the reign of Sena II (853–887) ; this will be evident if we compare it with that of the Viyaulpota inscription dated in the first year of that king [2]. The opening at the top of the letter *va* in our record, for example, is not so pronounced as that in the Viyaulpata inscription. If this letter is taken as the test, however, our record represents a script later in date than that of the Rāssahela inscription [3] of the reign of Mahinda II (777–797), in which the *va* has a closed top. On the other hand, in the Gäraṇḍigala inscription which we have attributed to the reign of Kassapa III (724–730) [4], the opening at the top of *va* is even more pronounced than in that letter occurring in the present record. As against this, the stroke at the top of *ma* in our record is curved, whereas it is horizontal, representing an earlier stage in the process of evolution, in the Gäraṇḍigala inscription. Palaeographically, therefore, our record may belong to a date between the beginning of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century.

The **language** of this document resembles that of immunity grants of the ninth century, the legal formula being the same as that followed in the Council

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[1] See *A. S. C.*, *Annual Report for 1911–12*, pp. 69–71.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, plate 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, plate 18.

[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, plate 16.

Chamber Pillar-Inscription from Polonnaruva [1], and the edicts engraved on pillars discovered at Vihāregama [2] and Mäda Ulpota [3]. Technical terms found in our document for the first time are *leṇa-puluvässan, pohokaraṭ* and *pevin.*

The **object** of the record was the grant of certain immunities to the village of Nadunnaru and other lands which belonged to the **Salvāṇā-veher.** The order was issued by **Mahayay** (P. *mahādipāda*) **Mihinday** (P. Mahinda). We know that the title of *mahādipāda* (Sin. *mahayā* and variants) was borne by the heir-apparent of the Sinhalese king in medieval times, and that the southern part of the King's Country, i.e. the Dakkhiṇa-desa, the later Māyā-raṭa, was ruled by him. The site of the present inscription, being to the south of the Kalā Oya, was included in the Dakkhiṇa-passa or Māyā-raṭa, and it is quite appropriate that the order granting immunities to a village in that principality was issued by the *mahayay* (*mahādipāda*).

The *mahādipāda*, however, did not enjoy the right to date documents in his own regnal years. Invariably, an edict embodying an order of the *mahādipāda* is dated in the regnal years of the paramount ruler at Anurādhapura. To quote one example, the edict of Mihind-mahapā from Viyaulpota is dated in the first year of Sirisaṅgbo, i.e., Sena II [4]. The present document, however, is dated in the third year, with no indication of any authority higher than the *mahayay* whose order is embodied in it. We have to conclude that the third year was that of Mahayay Mihinday himself. Prince Mahinda of our inscription, therefore, appears to have had the right of dating documents in his own regnal years without reference to a suzerain. In other words, he was a paramount ruler, though the epithet of *mahayā,* inadequate for the king, is prefixed to his name.

Now, in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* [5], we are told of a prince named Mahinda who carried out the duties of a king, bearing the title of *ādipāda,* and without assuming the paraphernalia of the regal office. This prince, who was the youngest of the sons of Mānavamma, is said to have been mourning the loss of a dear friend when he became entitled to the throne after the death of

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 34–46.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–54.

[3] *Ibid-*, pp. 54–58.

[4] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 179.

[5] Chap. 48, vv. 26–31.

his elder brother Kassapa III. He, therefore, refrained from maintaining the pomp and splendour of kingship, though he assumed its responsibilities and exercised its functions. This is the only recorded instance in Ceylon of a prince exercising regal power, voluntarily renouncing its dignities. Our record contains a regnal date without reference to a ruler bearing the epithets of paramount sovereignty. The prince who, according to the chronicle, ruled without the paraphernalia of royalty was named Mahinda, and it was a Mahayay Mihinday who issued the order embodied in our epigraph. I, therefore, come to the conclusion that the prince who issued the present edict was Mahinda-ādipāda (Mahinda I). If the Gäraṅḍigala rock-inscription has been rightly ascribed to Kassapa III, there is no palaeographical objection to this record being taken as belonging to the reign of **Mahinda** I (730-733).

If, on the other hand, Mahayay Mihinday be taken as a prince of the Dakkhiṇa-desa, subordinate to a paramount ruler whose name, for some reason or other, the record has omitted to mention, the epigraph can be taken as dating from the reign of Aggabodhi VII (772-777), Udaya I (797–801) or Sena II (853–887), under each of whom the dignity of *mahādipāda* was held by a prince named Mahinda.

We learn from this epigraph that the ancient monastery at Viraṅdagoḍa was named Salvāṇā-veher. This cannot be identical with the Sālavāna Vihāra, referred to in Chap. 38, v. 49 and Chap. 45, v. 45 of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, for the latter was in Rohaṇa. The village of Nadunnaru and the larger territorial unit in which it was included, Kesigamu-bim, have not been mentioned elsewhere.

TEXT

1. ශ්‍රී **මහයය් මිහිඳුය්හු** වජනින් කෙසිගමුබිම් ල(ද් නර)-
2. -ග් කිත් ඉසා වෙල්බැදියන් ඉසා කුළස්සම්අරුබ් පිටස්සමුන්
3. ඉසා සෙසු රද්කොල්කැමියන් අරිගිය යුතු පුන පූනා තො-
4. -ප ගැම්හි අය්වූ නදුන්නරුගම් හය් **සල්වාණාවෙහෙර්** ඇබැදි ගම්බි-
5. -මි (ම)ය්තාක් තැනට් මෙලා[ට්]සින් නො වදනා කොට් ඉසා රට්ලදු පස්
6. ලද්දන් නො වදනා කොට් ඉසා ලෙණපුළුවැස්සන් නො වදනා කොට් ඉසා ග-
7. -ම්ගොන් නො ගන්නා කොට් ඉසා තුන්වන්නෙ නිකිම්නිසඳ් පුන්මස්හි දසවක්දවස් පෙවින්
8. සල්වාණාවෙහෙරැ පොහොකරට් වජාළම්හ මෙදවස් පෙවින් මෙගම්බිමට් වැද වියවුල් නො කරන (සි)ම් කරවා

TRANSLITERATION

1 Śrī **Mahayay Mihindayhu** vajanin Kesigamu-bim la(d Nara)-
2 -g Kit isā vel-bädiyan isā kuḷassam-arub piṭassamun
3 isā sesu rad-kol-kämiyan arigiya yutu puna-punā to-
4 -pa gämhi ay-vū Nadunnaru-gam hay **Salvāṇā-veher** äbädi gam-bi-
5 -m (ma)y tāk tänaṭ melā[ṭ]sin no vadanā koṭ isā raṭ-ladu pas-
6 laddan no vadanā koṭ isā leṇapulu-vässan no vadanā koṭ isā ga-
7 -m-gon no gannā koṭ isā tun-vanne Nikimni-sand pun-mas'hi dasa-
vak-davas pevin
8 Salvāṇā-veherä pohokaraṭ vajāḷamha me-davas pevin me-gam-bimaṭ
vädä viyavul no karana (si)m karavā

TRANSLATION

Prosperity ! By the command of **Mahayay Mihinday**. Narag Kit, who has received the (administration of) the territory [1] of Kesigamu, the agricultural officers [2], the officers of the inner treasury and the outer treasury [3] and other officers of the royal household should protect [4] this again and again. To whatsoever area comprised within the estate [5] of Nadunnaru

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[1] *Bim* (Skt. *bhūmi*) occurs in inscriptions of the ninth century with the connotation of an administrative territorial unit. Compare *Sihigiri-bim* in the Viyaulpata pillar-inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 179).

[2] *Vel-bädi* occurs in the Moragoḍa pillar-inscription of Kassapa IV (*E. Z.*, Vol. I., p. 205). *Bädi* in this term may be from Skt. *baddha*, " connected with ". Compare *badda* in such Kandyan official titles as *koṭṭal-badda*.

[3] *Kuḷassam-arub piṭassamun* :—The elements *assam* and *arub* in these terms are equivalent, respectively to *atasama* and *araba* occurring in the Hiṅgurēgala rock-inscription. The significance of the terms has been discussed above, p. 118, n. 6. In the present document, these terms signify royal officers, and not monastic functionaries ; they cannot, therefore, be rendered in the same manner as in the different context of the Hiṅgurēgala record. The equation of *as* (i.e. *at* in euphonic combination) with Skt. *artha* indicates that we have to do with some type of officials of the royal treasury or store-house ; their precise functions cannot, however, be determined. A non-committal rendering has, therefore, been adopted in the translation. *Piṭa* means " outside ", and *kuḷa*, with which it is coupled, may be inferred as having the opposite meaning, i.e. " interior ". In that case, it may be related to Tamil *uḷ*. *Kuḷ* or *kuḷa*, as well as Tamil *uḷ*, can be connected to Skt. *hṛd* or *hṛdaya*, " heart ", through a Prakritic form **huḍa*. In the development that the word has undergone in Tamil, the initial *h* has dropped, whereas it has changed to *k* in Sinhalese.

[4] *Arigiya yutu puna-punā* :—*Arigiya* has been taken as derived from an ungrammatical Old Indian *ā-rakṣya*. *Puna-punā* is Skt. *punaḥ punaḥ*.

[5] Nadunnaru was comprised within the territorial unit, referred to by *gam*, " village ", administered by Narag Kit. The word *gam* attached to *Nadunnaru* has, therefore, to be rendered by a term other than " village ". For the interpretation of *gam* by " estate " see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 276, n. 1.

and the monastery of **Salvāṇā**, included in your villages, *melāṭsin* [1] shall not enter, administrators of districts and administrators of provinces [2] shall not enter, *leṇapulu-vässan* [3] shall not enter, village oxen shall not be levied; thus we have ordered in regard to the Sabbath-hall [4] of the monastery of Salvāṇā, to be effective from the date, the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Nikimni in the third year, having made the injunction that, from this date henceforward[5], officers shall not enter the lands of this estate and create any disturbance.

No. 10. KOṆḌAVAṬṬAVAN PILLAR-INSCRIPTION OF DAPPULA V

By S. Paranavitana

DURING the last week of November, 1953, I spent two days in the Gal Oya valley, visiting places of archaeological interest in the company of Mr. R. L. Brohier, a member of the Gal Oya Board, whose enthusiasm for historical and antiquarian research is well-known. Just before I left this scene of modern agricultural activity, on November 25th, I was taken to an ancient site to the north-west of the Koṇḍavaṭṭavan tank by Mr. W. P. Szechowycz, an employee of the Gal Oya Board, and was shown an inscribed pillar which this officer, who always keeps an eye for archaeological remains whenever duty or sport takes him to the jungle, had discovered some time before my visit. A cursory inspection was sufficient to indicate the historical importance of the record, which I now edit from an estampage prepared a few weeks later.

The pillar, lying prone on the ground when discovered, was broken at the base, the last line of writing on some sides being thus partly damaged.

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[1] For this term, see *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 66, n. 7.

[2] *Raṭ-ladu* and *pas-laddan* :—See *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 111.

[3] *Leṇapulu-vässan* has not been met with in any other document. The last element occurs in such terms as *de-kam-tän-vässan* (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 33). *Leṇa* is apparently the same as *lēṇa* occurring in the compound *maha-lēṇa* "Chief Secretary". The element *pulu* is obscure in etymology as well as meaning. It is not impossible that *pulu* is equivalent to modern Sinhalese *pala*, "place", In that case *leṇa-pulu* may mean the place, i.e. the office, of the Chief Secretary. We may surmise that, by the whole compound, clerks in a secretarial establishment were meant.

[4] *Pohokara* is *P. uposatha-ghara*. The form occurring in inscriptions of about the second century is *pohotakara*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 168.

[5] For *pevin*, compare the expression *pivin mattehi* in the Panākaḍuva copper-plate. See above, p. 27, n. 1.

At the top, too, the first line of side C is imperfectly preserved, suggesting that a piece of the pillar, perhaps with the capital if it had one, had broken away. The base has not been noticed at the site, and one cannot be certain that the pillar was found at the very spot where it was originally set up. There is no apparent necessity for any one in modern times to have taken this pillar to the spot where it was found and, if this had been done in ancient days, the removal was unlikely to have been to a great distance. There are remains of structures on the site, but they are not of an important nature; their character, however, cannot be ascertained without clearing them of the jungle in which they are now enveloped. Not far from this site, on a rock boulder on the upper reaches of the tank, are two Brāhmī inscriptions, one of which refers to a *vihāra* named Ahali-araba. Whether the remains noticed on the site of the pillar are of this monastic establishment of the early centuries of the Christian era, cannot be decided without systematic excavation.

The pillar is a foot square in section, and its present height is 6 ft. 7 in. The writing, which has been rather clumsily executed, is badly weathered in certain places. Lines 15 to 17 on side A are almost totally effaced, and many letters in 11. 31, 33 and 34 on this side, as well as in the first and last lines of sides B and C, are illegible. The lower half of side D shows a letter here and there, hardly sufficient for even a single word to be read. Thus, the names of the officials who attested the edict engraved on the pillar have not been preserved to us—perhaps not a loss over which the historian would shed many tears.

The **script** is of the tenth century, and generally resembles that of the numerous pillar edicts of Kassapa V [1]. Some letters tend to be cursive, and the following points may be mentioned particularly. The *na* has no loop, *ka* has the horizontal aspect emphasised, but the earlier form with the emphasis on the vertical lines also occurs sporadically, e.g. in 1.C. 18. The ligature *ṭṭa* is written as one *ṭa* over another, with the *virāma* attached, i.e., above the upper *ṭa*.

As regards the **language**, the style is in general agreement with that of other documents of its class belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries. In the elaborate rhetorical flourish with which the document opens, the scribe

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[1] See, for example, the Mädirigiriya Pillar-Inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, plate 6, and the Ayitigevāva Pillar-Inscription, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, plate 7.

responsible for it has used, in new combinations, phraseology familiar from other inscriptions, e.g., *sirivat apiriyat*, etc., in the Rajamāligāva pillar-inscription [1] and *magul sihasun*, etc., in the "Vessagiri" slab-inscription of Dappula IV [2]. Our document supplies its quota to the obscure technical terms that were in use among the administrators in mediaeval Ceylon. An interesting word is *samandaruvan* in ll. B 26–27, instead of the usual *samdaruvan*, in which the vowel has not been elided in the second syllable, and the *d* has been nasalised to prevent it dropping [3].

The inscription is **dated** in the tenth year of a king styled **Abhā Salamevan,** the names of whose parents are given as **King Sirisaṅgbo** and **Queen** (*rädna*) **Dev Gon.** In the inscription on the "Vessagiri" slab No 1, King Buddas Abahay Salamevan Dāpuḷa, in whose second year that document is dated, is stated to have been the son of King Buddas Sirisaṅgboy Abahay and Devā-räjna [4]. Of the two Dāpuḷas who reigned in the tenth century, to which the "Vessagiri" slab has to be ascribed on palaeographical grounds, the third of that name [5] did not remain on the throne for a full year. The king mentioned in that record must, therefore, be Dāpuḷa (Dappula) IV, whose *viruda* of Abā Salamevan is attested by the Puliyankuḷama slab inscription [6]. The king of our document, which is palaeograhically assignable to the tenth century, had the same *viruda* as the monarch of the "Vessagiri" record, and his father, likewise, is called Sirisaṅgbo; he can, therefore, be identified as Dappula IV (924–935), if Devā-räjna and Dev Gon are taken as referring to the one and the same royal lady.

The inscription embodies an **edict** regulating certain matters connected with the administration of a village named **Ärāgam,** situated in **Hither Digämaṇḍulla,** the revenues from which were enjoyed by the *daṇḍanāyaka* when the Generalissimo, **Saṅgvā Rakus** [7], was holding that high dignity. The contents of our record are thus of unusual interest and, for the light it throws

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1 *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 53.

2 *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

3 See *Sigiri Graffiti*, Introduction, *Sec.* 305, Rule cix.

4 *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 26.

5 According to Wijesinha's list of kings, Dappula III is the fourth, the fourth being enumerated as the fifth. See Geiger's translation of *Cūḷavaṁsa*, part I, p. 126, f.n. 1.

6 *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 183.

7 "Saṅgvā" is a place name used as a surname. "Rakus" is Skt. "Rākṣasa" which, as a proper name, was deemed to be quite respectable in ancient times. In the Sanskrit drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, the loyal and upright minister of the Nandas, outwitted by the crafty Brahmin Cāṇakya, bore the honoured name "Rākṣasa".

on the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Ceylon during the ninth and tenth centuries, it is only surpassed in interest by the inscriptions on the Vēvälkäṭiya slab [1] and the pillar from Horabora, now at Badulla [2].

For a proper understanding of the regulations embodied in this edict, some observations are necessary on the technical terms *kärä*, *päṭṭa* and *päḷi* (inst. *päḷin*) which occur in the document. Of these, *kärä* and *päṭṭa* have been met with in other documents of the tenth century [3], but the contexts in which the two words are used here help us to understand their significance with a clarity that has not been possible with the documents hitherto available.

We begin with *päṭṭa*, about the general significance of which there is no doubt. From the manner in which the word is still used in the land tenure systems of India, particularly in the Dravidian country, there is no doubt that *päṭṭa* [4] means "lease", as Wickremasinghe has taken it. In the Tinnevelly District, *päṭṭam* signifies dues to the overlord paid in cash as opposed to *vāram*, a share of the produce. Regulation IV of the present edict, which prohibits the malpractice, no doubt resorted to as a means of avoiding the payment of excise duties, of bringing goods to the village from outside, alleging that they were dues from leased holdings, indicates that the tenants who cultivated the lands paid dues in kind. But fines for offences were money payments (Regulations VIII to XI). The benefits from leases were to be enjoyed by those entitled to them by themselves not ploughing (i.e., cultivating) the land, and without evicting the tenants (Regulation I). This clearly establishes that the lease-holders were not the cultivators of the land, but a class of middle-men who farmed the revenue due from the tenants on behalf of the lord of the village.

We can easily imagine the circumstances that would have led to a system of revenue-farming in this manner. The lords of villages, particularly if they themselves did not reside therein, must have found the collection of their share from the produce of the land, and other dues to which they were entitled, a matter involving attention to irksome details for which they or their underlings did not care. They may have felt that they were not getting from the tenants all that they were entitled to receive. The income from the

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 241–251.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. III, pp. 71–100.

[3] For the occurrence of the two words in inscriptions hitherto published, and a discussion of their significance, see Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1938, pp. 14–16.

[4] Perhaps, *päṭṭa* is from Skt. *pāṭhya*, "to be read", meaning the instrument of lease which was the lessee's title to the holding.

villages also would have been uncertain and not received at the time they were in need of it. They would, therefore, have welcomed a system by which they were relieved of the necessity of attending to the details of their relations with the tenants, but were at the same time assured of a fixed income at regular intervals. The revenue farmers or lessees, who thus came into the economical and social order of the day, no doubt made a profit from this undertaking and, if they exacted from the tenants only what they were entitled to, their profit must have been a corresponding loss to the lord of the village. We can thus appreciate the reasons which prompted the administration of the mediaeval monastery of Mihintale to set its face against the lease system with regard to lands which it owned [1]. But the more affluent Abhayagiri monastery permitted its lands, or at least some of them, to be managed by revenue farmers. The edict which Kassapa V set up in the Abhayagiri monastery has a provision which indicates that the revenue farmers were in difficulties at times and, unable to pay the stipulated sum to the overlord, went to the *saṅgha* for relief [2]. From this, we can also infer that they obtained the leases, not by any payment in advance, but on a promise of payment after the collection of the dues. The difficulties of the revenue farmers must have been due to the successful resistance, by the cultivator-tenants, of the demands made on them. The *pāṭṭa* system would not have affected the method of payment of their dues by the cultivator-tenants; they, as they were used to, paid in kind and, in certain instances, in cash. But the rentiers must have settled their accounts with the lords by making money payments. From what strata of society these rentiers were drawn, and how they obtained the capital needed for their operations, are matters on which we have no evidence. But this system of revenue farming does not seem to have established itself, for the word *pāṭṭa* does not occur in documents later than the tenth century, and is unknown to the Sinhalese land tenure system which the Portuguese found in operation, or to that which was prevailing under the kings of Kandy.

The Mihintale tablets enjoin that the lands appertaining to that monastery should not be given on lease, but should be permanently settled in *kärä* [3]. The *kärä* tenure, on which the cultivator-tenants held the lands of this monastery, must therefore have been of a nature opposed to the lease

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[1] Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Wickremasinghe's translation of the relevant passage, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 104–105, conveys the exactly opposite meaning.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 54.

[3] *Me-veherā bad tuvāk gam bim kärāyehi bändā salasat mut pāṭṭa no diya yutu* (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 93). For Wickremasinghe's translation of this sentence, see *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 104–105.

(*pāṭṭa*) system, according to which the lord received his income through the intermediary of a revenue farmer. If the lord of a village, whether it was the king, a noble or the manager of a religious institution, did not receive the revenue due to him through an intermediary, the cultivator-tenants must have paid them direct to the lord, or to his underling. The *kärä* tenure, therefore, must have been that in which the revenue due to the lord was collected in this manner. The word for "dues", "tax" or "revenue" in Sanskrit as well as in Sinhalese is *kara*, derived from the root *kṝ*. In the meaning of "liable to revenue", we should have the gerundive from this root, *kīrya*, from which the mediaeval Sinhalese form *kärä*, *kära* or *kärā* can regularly develop on the analogy of Sinh. *vära* from Skt. *vīrya*.

The share of the produce (*kara*) which the lord of a village received from the tenants was that which the king was entitled to, but had been granted for service, as a mark of favour, or as religious endowments. With the exception of lands such as *pamuṇu*, [1] *nind*, [2] and *jivel* [3], and those which had been leased (*pāṭṭa*), all lands, particularly fields, had to pay a share of the produce to the king or to the lord, and fields of this type, apparently, were those referred to as *kärä-kumbur*. [4] For the collection and disposal of this revenue, there must have been a separate organisation of the state, and the officers called *kärä-vädāruman* and *kärä-pākäruman* in our inscription (B. 11. 28–30), most probably, were attached to that. *Vädāruman* is the accusative or genitive plural of *vädāruma* which, ending as it does with *–ma*, can be taken as an action-noun from the root *vadāra*. But the occurrence of *piyo-vadāran-an* [5] in an analogous compound indicates that forms in *–na* also were in use as agent-nouns, just as primary derivates in *–ana* are found in Sanskrit [6]. The Sinhalese verbal root *vadāra* can be equated to Skt. *vi-car* or *ava-dhṛ*; *vädāruman*, therefore, may mean "inspectors", "investigators" or "those who determine accurately", i.e. "assessors". I have adopted the first etymology and freely rendered the term as "inspectors of tax-paying lands".

The other term *pākäruman*, for reasons given above, may be taken as equivalent to *pā-karannan*. As we occasionally come across words in

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1 Heritable lands, subject to a nominal quit rent.

2 One's own, i.e. the entire property of the owner.

3 Lands given for maintenance, in lieu of salary.

4 *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 93, Mihintale tablets, ll. A. 48–49.

5 *E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 184.

6 Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Sec. 1190.

the tenth century language containing *ä* where the modern speech has *e*, for instance *käruṇu* in the Gonnäva Dēvāle pillar-inscription[1], corresponding to modern *keruṇu*, *pā-käruman* of our record is equated to *pē-karannan* in current Sinhalese. In Clough's Dictionary, the meaning of *pē-karanava* is given as " to make offerings to a devil, to hallow, to set apart for gods ". This verb is now used with reference to religious observations, hence Clough's meaning of " to set apart for gods" ; but words which were of general use in the past have now assumed an exclusively religious application. For example, *amadina*, " to sweep " (Skt. *sammārjana*) is now used only when one visits a temple ; but, for that reason, its meaning should not be given as " to sweep a temple ". The ordinary meaning of *pē-karanava* may, therefore, be taken as " to set apart ". *Pē* or *pā*, most probably, has to be connected with Skt. *prahita* (*pra* and *hita*, preterite of the root *dhā*, and not of the root *hi*) with the meaning " laid, laid upon, imposed, fixed ", &c. The officers called *kärä-pākaruman* may, therefore, be taken to have been those charged with the duty of fixing or imposing the amount of tax or revenue which the *kärä* lands had to pay after each harvest. The term has thus been freely rendered as " assessors of taxable lands ".

Kärä and *pāṭṭa* are attributes of *päḷi* in the compound *kärä-pāṭṭa-päḷin*, of which *päḷin* is the instrumental of a stem *päḷi*. With this last word may be compared the nominative indefinite form *päḷiyāk* occurring in the Mihintale tablets, in the phrase *vedak-haṭ Detisäseṇen niya päḷiyāk isā*,[2] which has not been satisfactorily explained as yet. In my opinion, *niya* in this phrase is derived from Skt. *nija*, with which also is connected the word *ninda*, denoting a village which is the entire property of the owner. Detisäseṇa, obviously, is the name of an arable land, *seṇa* being equivalent to modern *hēṇa*. What is referred to in this phrase as the holding of a physician attached to the monastery appears to be an allotment from the particular land, to be possessed as *ninda*. *Päḷiya*, in this context, thus appears to mean " allotment ". *Päḷiya* or *päḷi* is equivalent to Pali *pāḷi* or *paḷi*, which is used with the meaning of " allotment " in a passage occurring in the *Papañcasūdanī*[3] and other commentaries. The relevant portion of this passage runs : *Yathā hi pabbatapāde samantā mahantaṁ khettaṁ katvā tattha kedārapāḷisu kuṭiyo katvā rattiṁ aggiṁ jāleyyum* (Just as if a large tract

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 189.
[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 96.
[3] P. T. S. Edition, part II, p. 178.

of fields were prepared at the foot of a mountain, huts were built in the *kedāra-pāḷi* in that field, and fires lighted therein). From this passage, we learn that there were a number of *kedāra-pāḷi* in a large tract of rice fields, and in each *kedāra-pāḷi* there was a hut (*kuṭi*). The word *kedāra*, like *khetta*, means " field " and, from the context, *pāḷi* appears to be used in the sense of an allotment of an individual farmer who had his *kuṭi* thereon. As the owner of the *kuṭi*, he is the *kuḍi* " tenant " referred to in the present inscription as well as in other records of the tenth century [1].

The meaning that we have given to *kedāra-pāḷi* as " an allotment or sub-division of a field " is supported by a passage occurring in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and Buddhaghosa's comments thereon. This reference runs as follows :—*Addasa kho Bhagavā Magadha-khettaṁ acci-bandhaṁ* [2] *pāḷi-bandhaṁ*,[3] *mariyāda-bandhaṁ siṅghāṭaka-bandhaṁ* [4]. Here we have a description of the manner in which the rice fields of Magadha were divided. Buddhaghosa [5] explains *pāḷi-baddha* by *pāḷi-baddhaṁ ti āyāmato ca vitthārato ca dīgha-mariyāda-baddhaṁ*, " along the length as well as along the breadth, connected with the other, i.e. divided, by means of long ridges ". The term which comes next, *mariyāda-baddha*, is explained as *antarantarā rassa-mariyādāya mariyāda-baddhaṁ*, " connected by intervening short ridges is *mariyāda-baddha* ". What we understand from Buddhaghosa's comments is that a sub-division called *mariyāda-baddha* was enclosed by short ridges. It must, therefore, be taken as the equivalent of the modern *liyadda*, a small area of a field enclosed by ridges to enable the retention of water therein. The sub-division called *pāḷi-baddha* was enclosed by ridges of greater length, longitudinally as well as latitudinally ; the purpose of these ridges apparently was not the retention of water, and Buddhagosa's use of the word *antarantarā* suggests that the smaller sub-divisions called *mariyāda-baddha* were sections of the larger ones called *pāḷi-baddha*. If the separation by ridges was not for the purposes of flooding, it must have been for the delineation of boundaries of different holdings. Thus the *pāḷi-baddha* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* appears to be equivalent to *kedāra-pāḷi* of the *Papañcasūdanī*. As each of the *kedāra-pāḷi* had a hut (*kuṭi*) thereon, it must be taken as the holding of an individual *kuḍi*. An

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[1] See, for example, the Mihintale tablets, I. A 51 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 94) and the Badulla pillar-inscription A 18, (*E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 75).

[2] The commentary has the reading *baddhaṁ*.

[3] *Pāli* is often spelt *pāḷi*.

[4] *Vinaya-piṭakaṁ*, edited by H. Oldenberg, Vol. I, p. 287.

[5] *Samantapāsādikā*, P. T. S. Edition, p. 1127.

examination of the various contexts in which the words *pāḷi* and *päḷi* occur would justify us in equating the one with the other, and in translating the Sinhalese word as "allotment" or "holding".

The village, with which this edict was concerned, is stated to have been enjoyed by, or attached to, the *daṇḍanāyakas* in the time of the Generalissimo Rakus, who held that office. It, perhaps among others, was probably assigned in order to enable him to maintain the dignity of his office with the revenue that it brought him. It thus corresponded to an "accommodessan" of Portuguese times.[1] The wording of the inscription suggests that the revenue of the village was not enjoyed by the *daṇḍanāyakas* when the present edict was issued. This must be due to the reason that at least the greater part of it paid dues to the lease-holders. But the officers attached to the establishment of the Generalissimo, evidently the *daṇḍanāyaka* who was the successor of Rakus, were empowered to enter it and make investigations. This must be for the reason that the lord, by giving out lands on the *pāṭṭa* tenure, retained supervisory control over them. Moreover, the inscription refers to *kärä* as well as *pāṭṭa* holdings. The entire village, it appears, was not given to the revenue farmers.

Picturing to ourselves the community of peasants who, a thousand years ago, earned their livelihood by tilling the soil which was irrigated by the reservoir now called Koṇḍavaṭṭavan, we find that there were three factors which governed their lives. In the first place was the overlordship of the king, represented by his officers. But, it was only on very rare instances, such as when a murder was committed by one of them, that they came in contact with the royal officers, for the king had assigned his dues from the village to the General. The peasants, perhaps, congratulated themselves on this circumstance, for they were spared the attentions of the host of petty bureaucrats with which, as we can infer from the immunity grants of the ninth and tenth centuries, the over-organised administration of the later Anurādhapura kingdom had burdened itself. The place of the royal officers was taken by the myrmidons of the Generalissimo; but we have no way of judging whom the peasants considered as the lesser evil. It was, however, with neither of these official classes that the peasant had frequent dealings; it was with the rentiers who had received the land under the *pāṭṭa* tenure. These latter would have had to pay the price of the *pāṭṭa* to the lord, and also

[1] See Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, p. 19.

to make a profit for themselves. The natural inclination, under such circumstances, would have been to extract as much as was possible from the peasants. The rentiers, perhaps, had reason to think that the revenue could be increased if they themselves cultivated the land, or gave it to new tenants. This they were forbidden to do by Regulation V. By this as well as by Regulations VI and VII, the rights of the tenants who occupied the land before it was given on lease were safeguarded. The rentiers, unpopular though they must have been, had also their rights. They required a certain degree of authority over the tenants to collect their dues. It is also not inconceivable that the tenants, on their own designing, or at the instigation of others, were indifferent about measures that were necessary to ensure a good harvest, without which the holders of the leases would have suffered loss. Regulations VIII–XI, dealing with the contravention of orders and matters relating to ploughing and watering of the fields, are obviously meant to protect the revenue farmers. No doubt, there were occasions on which a tenant disagreed with the revenue farmers with regard to what was legally due to the latter ; in such cases, Regulation XIII had provided the tenants with an effective protection against their being unjustly mulcted. In the event of a dispute with regard to the legality of a fine, the matter had to be decided by the concensus of opinion among the inhabitants of the village, naturally excluding him who was a party to the dispute. Thus, if there was solidarity among the peasants, it was not possible for the revenue farmers to exploit them illegally. The present edict does not deal with all matters regarding the administration of the village. Its purpose, as stated in Regulation XIV, was to confirm and supplement an earlier, possibly more comprehensive, piece of legislation.

The statement that the village concerned was in the district of Hither **Digāmaṇḍulla** (Dīghavāpī-maṇḍala), is of considerable **geographical interest.** Assuming that the pillar has been found where it was set up, or had not been removed far away from its original provenance, this enables us to determine that the present Koṇḍavaṭṭavan tank comes within the limits of the ancient Dīghavāpī-maṇḍala. *Me-tera*, prefixed to the name of the territorial division, indicates that Digāmaṇḍulla, in mediaeval times, comprised territory on the northern as well as the southern bank of the Gal Oya. Inscription No. 1 from Rāssahela,[1] which is 13 miles as the crow flies from Koṇḍavaṭṭavan,

[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 175.

refers to a place in the Digä-maḍulla, which was on the southern bank of the Gaḷ-Hoy (Gal Oya). The name that I have read as "Digä-piḍulla" in that record has to be corrected to "Digä-maḍulla", in spite of the *ma* being badly formed. Digā-maḍulla or Dighavāpī-maṇḍala is full of historical and religious associations. Dīghavāpī,[1] the early settlement after which the district was named, is one of the sixteen great places of Ceylon Buddhism, and was the head-quarters of Saddhātissa, brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, when the latter was ruling at Anurādhapura. It also figures in Parākramabāhu's campaigns in Rohaṇa. The district played an important role in producing the grain which provisioned the armies of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the campaign against Eḷāra. Another point of interest is that, though this area is beyond the Mahaväli Gaṅga, which separated Rohaṇa from the King's country, the king legislates directly with regard to it, and not through the prince (*āpā*) who ruled Rohaṇa. In the time of Dappula IV, therefore, districts to the north of the Gal Oya came under the direct rule of the Anurādhapura king. The territorial adjustment made during the reign of Mahinda II (*circa* 777–797), fixing Gal Oya (Gāḷha Gaṅga) as the boundary between Rohaṇa and Rājaraṭṭha[2], is thus seen to have been effective about two hundred years later. On the other hand, the order embodied in inscription No. 3 at Rāssahela has been issued by Prince (*äpāy*) Dāṭhāsiva (Daḷsivay)[3] who was governing Rohaṇa in the reign of Udaya I, the successor of Mahinda II.[4] Perhaps Prince Dāṭhāsiva was strong enough to extend his authority to the districts to the north of the Gal Oya, disregarding the settlement made by Mahinda II after inflicting military reverses on Prince Dappula. This also explains why Udaya I befriended Mahinda, son of Dāṭhāsiva, when that prince rebelled against his father, and placed him in authority over Rohaṇa, forcing Dāṭhāsiva into exile. Prince Mahinda, in consideration of the aid he received from the

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[1] For Dīghavāpī, see *Mahāvaṁsa*, chap. 11, v. 78, chap. 24, vv. 2, 15 and 18, chap. 32, v. 2 and chap. 33, vv. 9, 10 and 14 and *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 74, vv. 89, 98, 110, 180, chap. 75, vv. 1, 10 and chap. 96, vv. 25 and 28. The name occurs in Sinhalese literature as "Digā-maḍulla". The form *Digä*, as well as *Digā*, presupposes an original *Dīghāyu*, and the place known as Dīghavāpī was possibly the same as the settlement named after Dīghāyu, referred to in chapter 9, v. 10 of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. In the identification of Dīghavāpī, it is, therefor, not necessary to look for a long tank. The great *dāgäba* of Dīghavāpī has probably to be identified with the ruined monument still known by that name near the place called Vēraiaḍi in Akkarai Pattu of the Batticaloa District.

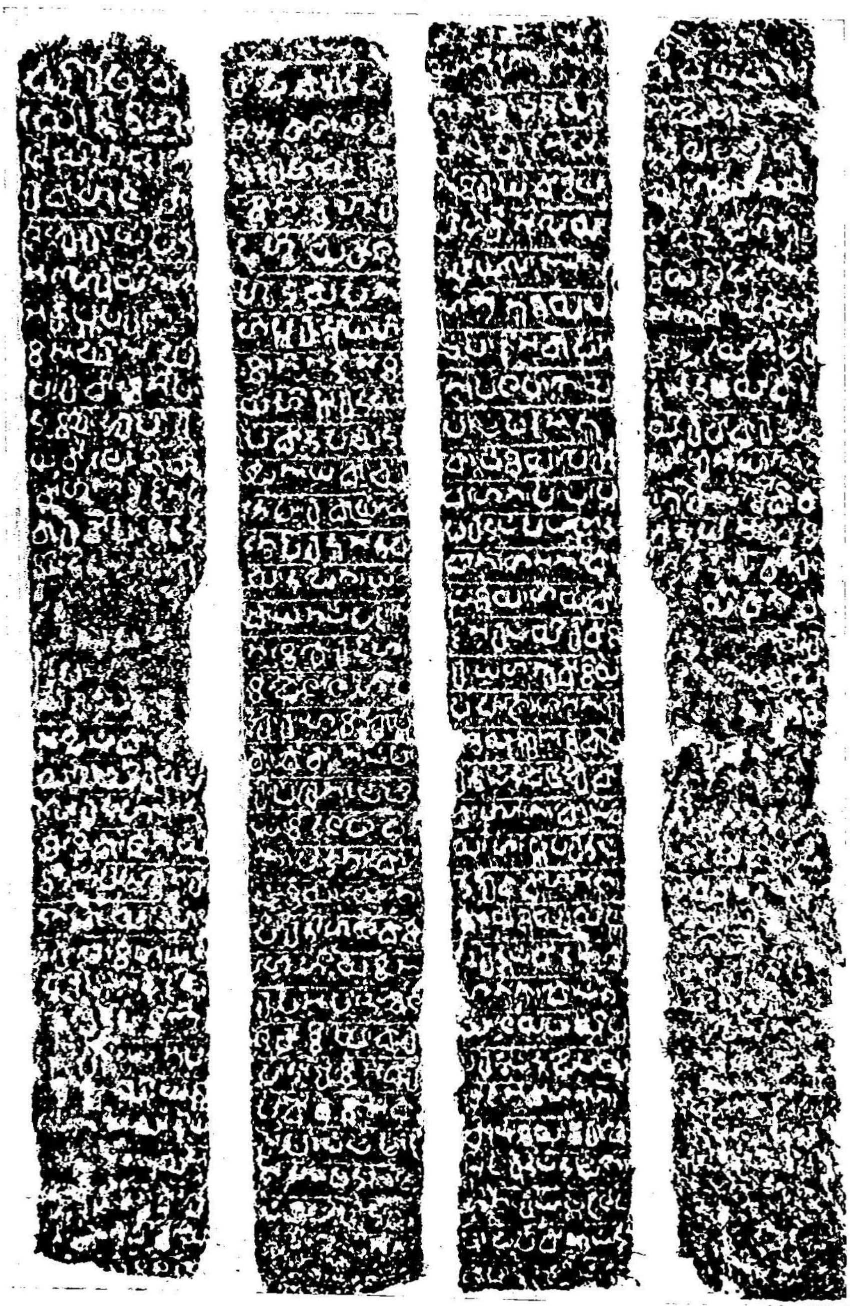
[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 48, vv. 125–132.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 175.

[4] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 49, vv. 10–13.

Kondavattavan Pillar-Inscription

A B C D



Scale 1½ inches to 1 foot

Anurādhapura king, must have agreed to renounce any claims which the Rohaṇa princes may have had over the northern Digā-maḍulla. The stationing of a high-ranking military officer in this district by the Anurādhapura ruler was no doubt necessitated by the fear that the princes of Rohaṇa would take the first opportunity that offered itself to extend their authority over the district which once was an integral part of their principality.

TEXT

A

1 සිරිවත්
2 සොම්මගු-
3 -ල් සිහසුන්
4 රක්ගල්ත-
5 -ල අරාය් වද-
6 -න් බෙරසීනාෂෙනෙ-
7 -න් රුපුවරණන්
8 මඤ් සිඤැ සී-
9 පැරැක්මෙන් වැ-
10 -දූම්බි අපිරි-
11 -යත් ලොඉකු-
12 -ත් ගුණමුළින් උ-
13 -තුරත් වැ මුළු ද-
14 -මබදි[විහි] අ-
15 -(න්කැත්කුල
16 පියමිලි
17 කළ ඔකාව)-
18 -ස්රද් පරපුරෙ-
19 -න් බව් කැත්උ-
20 -සබ් සිරිසඟ්-
21 බො රද්හට් ද
22 එ මෙ කුලෙන් ස-
23 -මදූ දෙව්ගොන් රු-
24 -ද්න කුසැ ඉපැදූ
25 ඈපා මහයා
26 සිරි විඤැ පිළිවෙ-
27 -[ළ සෙ] රද් පැමිණි
28 (මිණිවුටු)නෙන් පැ-
29 -හැයු සියමු-
30 ඤ්නෙ (බිසෙ)ස්දිය-
31 (මෙන් දසදෙ)සෙහි
32 නුමුත්සිරි අ-
33 -[නත්අ]පිරිසෙ
34 (සොම්)නිමල(ගු)-

B

1 -(ණවතුරු පැති)-
2 -රි ඔකාරද්කු-
3 -ලට් තලාටික්
4 වූ අභා සල-
5 -මෙ[ව]න් මහර-
6 -ජ්හු සත් ලැ-
7 -භු දසවන
8 හවුරුදුයෙහි
9 මැඤිත්දින් ම-
10 -ස්හි පුර දස-
11 පක් දවස් ද-
12 -ඞනායක ස-
13 -ඟ්වැ රකුස්සෙ-
14 -නෙවිරදුක් දව-
15 -ස දඞනාය-
16 -කයනව් වැළැ[ඤු]-
17 -න මෙනෙර දිගැ-
18 මඩුල්ලෙහි වූ
19 ඇරැගම් ආවූ

20 තාක් තැනට් වැ-
21 -රි පෙරෙනාට්ටි-
22 -යම් උල්වාඩින්
23 නො වදනා කො-
24 -ට් ඉසා සෙනෙ-
25 -විරද්ගෙ ලෙකම්-
26 ගෙහි සමනැ-
27 -රුවන් වැදූ ඉල්-
28 -ලත් මිසැ කැරු-
29 වැදූරුමන් කැරු-
30 පැකැරුමන් කැ-
31 -රුපාට්ටපැළි-
32 -න් නො වදනා කො-
33 -ට් ඉසා රද්කො-
34 -(ල්කැමි)යන්

C

1 ... ...
2 ... ... උතු (නො ග-)
3 -න්නා කොට් ඉසා
4 පාට්ටපැළින් වඩි-
5 -න ඉරයක් මිසැ
6 පිටතින් බඩු
7 ඉරු යි බැණැ නො
8 ගෙනිනු ඉසා පා-
9 -ට්ටපැළින් කුඩින්
10 නො පලවා නො සා
11 පාට්ට වළනැනු
12 කොට් ඉසා පෙරෙ ද-
13 -ඬ් ගෙනැ පැටැවූ
14 වරදට් වටාලා ද-
15 -ඬ් නො ගන්නා කො-
16 ට් ඉසා ගස්කො-
17 -ළින් රට්සිරිත් ඉ-
18 -රුය ගනුත් මිස
19 වඩා නො ගන්නා කො-
20 -ට් ඉසා අණ මැකූ ව-
21 -රදට් දඩට් අක-
22 -ක් ගන්නා කොට් ඉ-
23 -සා ගැලු වරදට්
24 දෙ අකක් ගන්නා
25 කොට් ඉසා සිවූ
26 වරදට් කළනැක්
27 ගන්නා කොට් ඉ-
28 -සා ලස වැ සිවූ
29 වරදට් දඩ පස්
30 කළනැක් ගන්නා
31 කොට් ඉසා මරා කෙ-
32 -වූ වරදට් දඬ නො
33 ගෙනැ රට වූ උල්-
34 -පාඩුවක්හට් ද-
35 -ක්වා දෙනු [කොට් ඉසා]

D

1 කුඩියකු උප-
2 -න් දඩ අ[යු]තු [යි නො]
3 [ෙ]දනු බලත් අ-
4 -නෙක් ගම්වැස්ස-
5 -න් කී දඬ ගනුත්
6 මිස වඩා නො ග-
7 -න්නා කොට් ඉසා ර-
8 -කුස් සෙනෙවිර-
9 -දුන් දවස් තිබූ
10 සිරිත් කරනු මී-
11 -සැ අනියා නො ක-
12 -රනු කොට් මෙකී තා-
13 -ක් දූසින් දත් මෙ-
14 -හි වූ දූයක් ඇත
15 [මෙ කී] සිරිත් වැ-
16 -රුදවු සෙ දඬ කී-
17 -(රා ගනු) කොට් ඉසා
18 [වදලෙසින්] ආ

* * * * * *

TRANSLITERATION[1]

A

1 Siri-vat
2 somi-maṅgu-
3 -l sihasun
4 rak-gal-ta-
5 -la arāy vada-
6 -n bera-sī-nāne-
7 -n rupu-varaṇan
8 mand sindä sī-
9 päräkmen vä-
10 -dämbi apiri-
11 -yat lo-iku-
12 -t guṇa-muḷin u-
13 -turat vä muḷu Da-
14 -mbdi[vhi] a-
15 -(n-kät-kula
16 piyamili
17 kaḷa Okāva)-
18 -s-radparapure-
19 -n baṭ kät-u-
20 -sab **Sirisaṅg-**
21 **bo** rad'haṭ dā
22 e me kulen sa-
23 -ma-dā **Dev Gon** rä-
24 -dna kusä ipädä
25 āpā mahayā
26 siri vindä piḷive-
27 [-ḷa se] rad päminị
28 (miṇi-vuṭu)nen pä-
29 -häyu siya-mu-
30 -ndne (bise)s-diya
31 (men dasa-de)sehi
32 numut-siri a-
33 [-nat-a]pirise
34 (somi)-nimala-(gu-)

B

1 -(ṇa-vaturu päti-)
2 -ri Okā-rad-ku-
3 -laṭ talāṭik
4 vū **Abhā Sala-**
5 **me** [**va**]**n** maha-ra-
6 -jahu sat lä-
7 -ṅgu dasa-vana
8 havuruduyehi
9 Mändindin-ma-
10 -s'hi pura dasa-
11 -pak davas da-
12 -ṇḍanāyaka **Sa-**
13 **-ṅgvā Rakus-se-**
14 **-nevi-radun** dava-
15 -sä daṇḍanāya-
16 -kayanaṭ väḷä[ndu]-
17 -na **Metera-Digä-**
18 **maṇḍullehi** vū
19 **Ärāgam** ā-vū
20 tāk tänaṭ (i) vä-
21 -ri perenäṭṭi-
22 -yam ulvāḍin
23 no vadanā ko-
24 -ṭ isā (ii) sene-
25 -vi-radge le-kam-
26 -gehi samanda-
27 -ruvan vädä il-
28 -lat misä kärä-

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[1] Lines 15 to 17 are almost totally effaced. The restoration has been made as the phrase occurs in numerous other inscriptions; see, for example, *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 234, but the three lines could have contained two or three letters more. For purposes of reference, and for convenience in comparing the text with the translation, I have numbered the regulations with small Roman numerals in parenthesis.

29 vädāruman kärä-
30 pākäruman kä-
31 -rä-pāṭṭa-päḷi-
32 -n no vadanā ko-
33 -ṭ isā (iii) rad-ko-
34 (-l-kämi)yan ..

C

1 .. ..
2 .. ..utu (ṅoga-)
3 -nnā koṭ isā
4 (iv) pāṭṭa-päḷin vaḍi-
5 -na irayak misä
6 piṭatin baḍ[u]
7 irä yi bäṇä no
8 geninu isā (v) pā-
9 -ṭṭa-päḷin kuḍin
10 no palavā no sā
11 pāṭṭa vaḷandanu
12 koṭ isā (vi) pere da-
13 -ḍ genä päṭāvū
14 varadaṭ vaṭālā da-
15 -ḍ no gannā ko-
16 -ṭ isā (vii) gas-ko-
17 -ḷin raṭ-sirit i-
18 -räya ganut misa
19 vaḍā no gannā ko-
20 -ṭ isā (viii) aṇa mäku va-
21 -radaṭ daḍaṭ aka-
22 -k gannā koṭ i-
23 -sā (ix) gälu varadaṭ
24 de akak gannā
25 koṭ isā (x) sivū
26 varadaṭ kaḷandak
27 gannā koṭ i-
28 -sā (xi) lasa vä sivū
29 varadaṭ daṇḍa pas
30 kaḷandak gannā
31 koṭ isā (xii) marā ke-
32 -ṭū varadaṭ danḍ no
33 genä raṭa vū ul-[1]
34 -pāḍuvak'haṭ da-
35 -kvā denu [koṭ isā[2]]

D

1 (xiii) kuḍiyaku upa-
2 -n daḍa ay[u]tu [yi no]
3 d[e]nu balat a-
4 -nek gam-vässa-
5 -n kī danḍ ganut
6 misa vaḍā no ga-
7 -nnā koṭ isā (xiv) **Ra-**
8 **-kus senevi-ra-**
9 **-dun** davas tibū
10 sirit karanu mi-
11 -sä aniyā no ka-
12 -ranu koṭ (xv) me kī tā-
13 -k däyin dat me-
14 -hi vū däyak äta
15 [me kī] sirit vä-
16 -rädavu se danḍ ki-
17 -(rā ganu) koṭ isā
18 vadāḷeyin ā

* * * * * *

[1] There are traces of another *akṣara*, possibly written by error, after *l*.

[2] A line at the end of side C is possibly there on the stump now missing. A line might also have become illegible at the beginning of side D.

TRANSLATION

On the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Mändindin,[1] in the tenth year (after) the umbrella of dominion had been raised by the great king **Abhā Salamevan**, the Abode of Fortune;[2]—who, having ascended the plateau of red arsenic[3] which is the pleasant and auspicious lion-throne, subdued the insolence of elephant-like enemies with the terriffic lion-roar of his word (of command);—who attained to the sovereignty in regular succession, after having enjoyed the dignities of *āpā* and *mahayā*,[4] having been begotten unto king **Sirisaṅgbo**, the noble *kṣatriya*,[5] descended from the lineage of King Okāvas who, being one in whom virtues transcending the world were overflowing from their multitudes,[6] made the other *kṣatriya* families of Jambudvīpa his vassals;[7]—who was born in the womb of Queen **Dev Gon**, of equal caste to the family of that (Sirisaṅgbo);—the flood of whose pleasant and immaculate virtues, of unceasing lustre, endless and limitless, spread over the ten directions, just as the water of unction spread over his head adorned with the bejewelled crown;—and who is the ornament[8] of the royal race of Ikṣvāku;—(it is ordered as follows) concerning all that area included in the village of **Ärāgama** in **Hither Digämaṇḍulla**, which appertained to the *daṇḍanāyakas*[9] in the days of the Commander-in-chief, Daṇḍanāyaka **Saṅgvā Rakus.**

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[1] Skt. *Phalguṇa*, February-March.

[2] The author of this record has used the words occurring in the phrase *sirivat apiriyat lo-ikut guṇa muḷin uturat* in a combination different from that which is usual in other inscriptions, and his reputation as a man of letters no doubt demanded a new twist being given to the meaning of some at least of the words. Consequently, *vat* is taken as equivalent to Skt. *vāstu*, P. *vatthu*. Cf. Sin. *Kiṁbulvat* for Skt. *Kapilavāstu*, P. *Kapilavatthu*.

[3] *Rak-gal* occurs in Sinhalese literature as the equivalent of P. *manosilā*. See, for instance, *Amāvatura* (Bhadanta Sorata's edition, p. 146) where *rak-gal-muṅdunehi* stands for *manosilātale* in the *Suttanipāta Commentary* (P. T. S. edition, Vol. I, p. 223). It is, very likely, a development of *rat-gal* (Skt. *rakta-śilā*), for *rat-gal-tala* occurs in the *Ummagga Jātaka* (Colombo, 1927, p. 77) in place of *manosilātale* in the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (Fausboll's edition, Vol. VI, p. 399).

[4] For these two titles, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 82.

[5] *Kät-usab*=Skt. *kṣatriyarṣabha*, a bull of a kṣatriya.

[6] *Apiriyat lo-ikut-guṇa-mulen uturat vä*: The occurrence of the absolutive *vä* after *uturat* makes it unjustifiable to take the latter word as a verb in the conditional mood. For this reason, as well as for that given in note above, *uturat* is equated with Skt. and P. *uttaranta*.

[7] The phrase *apiriyat......piyamili kaḷa* can be taken as qualifying *Okāvas-rad* which immediately follows it, or *Abhā Salamevan maharaja* in B. 11.4–5. On the ground of proximity, as well as of the inappropriateness of referring to a king of Ceylon as having subdued all the kings of India, I have taken the phrase as qualifying *Okāvas-rad*. For *piyamili*, which is the same as *pāmili*, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 140, n. 3.

[8] *Talāṭik*:—See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 34, n. 6. This word is a compound of two synonyms, *talā* (Skt. and P. *tilaka*) and *ṭik*, with which compare Pkt. *ṭikkita*, adorned with a *tilaka*, occurring in the *Karpūramañjarī* (edited by Sten Konow, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. IV, p. 46).

[9] For this title, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 60. In South India, the title *daṇḍa-nāyaka* signified an army commander. It was so in Ceylon, too, during the twelfth century.

(i) *Väri*, [1] *perenāṭṭiyam* and *ulvāḍi* [2] shall not enter.

(ii) Apart from the gentlemen of the secretariat [3] attached to the establishment [4] of the Commander-in-chief entering (the village) and making investigations, [5] inspectors of taxable lands (*kärä-vädāruman*) and assessors of taxable lands (*kärä-pākäruman*[6]) shall not enter into tax-paying and leased holdings. [7]

(iii) Officers of the royal house-hold shall not levy . . . . . *utu* [8] . . . .

(iv) Apart from any dues [9] accruing from the leased holdings, goods from outside shall not be brought (into the village) on the pretext [10] that they are dues.

(v) Leases shall be enjoyed without ejecting the tenants [11] and without (the lessees themselves) ploughing (i.e. cultivating the fields).

(vi) Fines shall not be levied once again for offences which have been settled [12] by levying fines previously. [13]

(vii) Apart from levying dues on trees [14] and creepers in accordance with the law [15] (prevailing in) the district, (no dues) in excess shall be levied.

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[1] *Väri* appears to have been the officers concerned with the corvee, i.e. the men who had to work for the king for certain stipultated periods (*vāra*). See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 53, n. 7.

[2] *Perenāṭṭiyam, ulvāḍin* :—For these two terms, see *E. Z.*, Vol. III, p. 144. There is little doubt that the words are of Tamil origin. Taking *v* in *ulvāḍu* as due to change from *p*, that word can be taken as a compound of *uḷ* and *pāḍu*. In Tamil, *uḷ* means " interior " and *pāḍu* " to sing ". In contrast to this, *pere* is "front" or " outside " (cf. Tamil *puram*) and *nāṭṭiyam* (Skt.) *nāṭya*) is "dancing". With this interpretation, it is significant to compare the reference in the *Butsaraṇa* (Bhadanta Sorata's edition of 1953, p. 154) to *antaraṅga-bahiraṅga kārya* in which the citizens of Vesāli are said to have been not remiss. *Antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* can be taken as Prakritic forms equivalent, respectively, to Skt. *antar-raṅga* (inner theatre) and *bahir-raṅga* (outer theatre). The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 69, vv. 32 and 35, refers to a service called the *antaraṅga-dhura* constituted by Parakramabāhu I. On these analogies, the meaning of *ulvāḍu* can be taken as "inside singing", and *perenāṭṭu* as "outside dancing ". *Ulvāḍu*, most probably, were a class of functionaries who had the right of entry to the inner music hall of the royal palace, and *perenāṭṭu* a lower grade who were not permitted to proceed further than the dancing hall in the outer precincts of the palace.

[3] Compare, ll. A. 37–38 of the Badulla pillar inscription, and the comments thereon at p. 88 of *E. Z.* Vol. III.

[4] *Ge*, Literally, " house ".

[5] *Illat mut* :— With this, compare *havurudu havurudu patā illannaṭa giya raj-kol-samdaruvan* in the Vēvälkäṭiya inscription and Wickremasinghe's comments on the word *illannaṭa* in *E.Z.*, Vol. I, p. 251, n. 6.

[6] See discussion on pp. 127-130 above.

[7] *Kärä-pāṭṭa-pāḷin* :—*Pāḷin* should be taken as locative in sense, though instrumental in form. Compare *siya-mundnen* at *E. Z.*, Vol. I. p. 221 in place of *siya-mundne* at *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 234. In Pali, very often, the place to be arrived at is in the instrumental ; e.g. *yena Bhagavā tenupasaṁkami*. See also *Sigiri Graffiti*, Introduction, § 543.

[8] The term *utu-kiri* is found in the Mädirigiri pillar-inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 31) and in the Bilibäva pillar-inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. II, p. 42).

[9] *Bāṇä*, literally, " having said ".

[10] *Ira* :—This word, met with for the first time in our document, is clearly the same as Tamil *iṛai*, perhaps going back to Skt. *reya*, the gerundive of the root *rā*, " what should be given ". Compare *deya* in *bhāga-deya*.

[11] *Kuḍin* :—See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 105, n. 11.

[12] *Pāṭāvū* :—Compare the phrase *marā paṭavanu koṭ isā* in the Vēvälkäṭiya inscription (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 247). For the significance of the word, see above, p., n. 13.

[13] For a similar injunction, see the slab-inscription of Kassapa V from the Abhayagiri Vihāra, ll. 20-21 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 47).

[14] Literally " from trees and creepers ".

[15] The word *sirit* signified "written law", rather than " custom", in the language of the tenth century. Compare the expression *me sirit tubuva vaṭī nisiyan hā sasändä* . . . . *me sirit tabana ladi* in the Minintale tablets, A ll. 7–9 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 91) and the title, *sirit-lē-nā*, "legal secretary" of one of the principal officers of state in the twelfth century.

(viii) As fine for the offence of contravening an order, [1] an *aka* [2] shall be levied.

(ix) For an offence (connected with) the flooding [3] of the fields, (a fine of) two *akas* shall be levied.

(x) For an offence (connected with) ploughing, (a fine of) a *kaḷanda* [4] shall be levied.

(xi) For the offence of having ploughed [5] late, a fine of five *kaḷandas* shall be levied.

(xii) For the offence of committing murder, no fine shall be exacted, but (the offender) shall be surrendered [6] to an *ulpāḍu* who is in the district.

(xiii) Should any tenant attempt [7] to be without paying a fine that has been imposed, (on the ground) that (it is) not equitable, the fine shall be levied as decided [8] by the other residents of the village, [9] and nothing in excess shall be levied.

(xiv) The laws (regarding this village) which have been promulgated in the time of **Rakus**, the Commander-in-Chief, shall be observed, and no illegal acts should be committed.

(xv) Should there be any matter that has transpired here, known to be (coming) within the aforesaid matters, it shall be considered a contravention of these laws, and fines shall be assessed [10] and levied (accordingly).

As it has been ordered thus, ...

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[1] *Aṇa mäku* :—Compare *aṇa mäkuvan* in the Vēvälkäṭiya slab inscription which, however, has been translated as "those who have effaced brand marks" (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 251). *Aṇa mäku* corresponds to *ājñā-murittu* in the 16th century inscription on the walls of the Nātha Dēvāle in Kandy (*E. Z.*, Vol. IV p. 32). The severity of the punishment prescribed for the same offence in the Vēvälkäṭiya inscription was perhaps due to the reason that the laws promulgated therein applied to slaves (*dasa*).

[2] A coin equal in value to one-eighth of a *kaḷanda* or *kahavaṇu* ; see Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 60.

[3] *Gälu* :—The preterite causative of the root *gala*, " to flow ".

[4] Identical with *kahavaṇu*, for which see Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 54 f.

[5] *Sivu* is the preterite form in the causative mood of the root *si* (Skt. *śī*). The usual form of this verb is *sā* or *hā* e.g. *sānava* and *hānava*, but *sival* in the term *sival-* (or *hival-*) *aňda*, " the half share of the cultivator ", the verbal noun from this root is met with.

[6] *Dakvā denu*, literally, " shall be shown and given ".

[7] *Balat*, literally, " sees ". For this meaning of the verb *bala*, compare expressions like *mama ēka karanna balannaṁ* in the modern language.

[8] *Ki*, literally, " said " or " stated ".

[9] The use of *anek gam-vässan* after referring to *kuḍiyaku* shows that *kuḍi* and *gam-väsi* are synonymous.

[10] *Kirā*, literally, " having weighed ". Compare, *gam-sirit daṇḍ kirā kirū daṇḍ* in the Mihintale tablets, A. 1. 51 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 94).

No. 11. KAṬAGAMUVA SLAB-INSCRIPTION OF MĀNĀBHARAṆA

BY W. S. KARUNARATNE

ABOUT three miles to the west of picturesque Situlpahuva of the Southern Province, lies **Kaṭagamuva** bordering a tank, the area round which has been declared a Sanctuary. In 1953, Mr. M. K. P. Karunaratne, Game Guard stationed there by the Department of Wild Life, noticed a stone slab almost buried in the ground near a rice field close to his quarters. He discovered some ancient writing on that part of the stone which was visible and promptly reported his " find " to his Warden, Mr. C. W. Nicholas, Mr. Nicholas' abiding interest in inscriptions brought the Archaeological Department to the site in March, 1954. When an estampage was taken, the slab was found to contain an inscription of **Mānābharaṇa,** the contemporary and rival of **Parākramabāhu the Great** (1153–1186 A.D.) The epigraph, in addition to its linguistic interest, is worthy of note as the only inscription issued under the name of this Prince, so far discovered in the Island.

The slab is 2 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. in length and breadth respectively. There are twelve lines of writing engraved between ruled lines about 2½ in. apart. The approximate height and breadth of an average **letter** is 1½ in. The **script** is of the twelfth century, and conforms to that of the large number of inscriptions which belong to this period. The only **orthographical** peculiarity worth noting is the use of *mbu* and *ndu* for *mbu* and *n̆du* in the words **Kosomburen** and **Talāmuhundugiri** respectively. As regards **grammar,** the conditional is expressed in *kenek äta*, *baṭuvāha* and *vūvāha*.

There were two princes of the name Mānābharaṇa figuring in the history of this period, one the father and the other, a cousin of Parākramabāhu I. The elder Mānābharaṇa was raised to the position of Yuvarāja at the death of **Vijayabāhu I** (*circa* 1055–1110 A.D.), and **Jayabāhu** was consecrated king. Mānābharaṇa, however, was unable to obtain the throne of Polonnaruva, due to the opposition of Vikramabāhu, the rightful heir to the throne. Sirivallabha, brother of Mānābharaṇa, ruled over the principality of Rohaṇa, and his son, the younger **Mānābharaṇa**, succeeded him on his death[1]. As the rulers of the three provinces, Rājaraṭṭha, Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa, were not consecrated kings, they reckoned the regnal years of Jayabāhu,

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[1] *Mahāvaṁsa* ch. 64, vv. 18–20.

even after his death, for the purpose of dating. Thus the Dim̐bulāgala Mārāvīdiye Rock-Inscription was dated in his 27th year.[1] The present record, of the 35th year of Jayabāhu, falls approximately to the year 1145–46.[2] The **date** as well as the **provenance**, which in this case is Rohaṇa, is decisive in identifying the younger **Mānābharaṇa** as the author of the record.

A struggle ensued between the three princes, Gajabāhu, Mānābharaṇa, and Parākramabāhu, for the sovereignty of Laṁkā. At the outset, when Gajabāhu was in an unfavourable position after his defeat by Parākramabāhu, Mānābharaṇa planned to turn it to his own advantage by making advances for an alliance to Gajabāhu. The monks, preventing him, drew up a treaty between Gajabāhu and Parākramabāhu, and deposited it in the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra[3]. A copy of this treaty was found engraved at Saṁgamu Vihāra, and Paranavitana, who edited the inscription, has described the events in detail[4]. The wars of Parākramabāhu against his two cousins and his ultimate attainment of the overlordship of Laṁkā are mentioned in the Devanagala Rock-Inscription.[5]

The **contents** tell us of a grant of land by **Mānābharaṇa** to a monastery named **Taḷāmuhundugiri**. Ten *amuṇas* from **Mātiradeṅiya** and three *amuṇas* from **Kosombura** are said to have been granted as a *kusalāna* to this monastery. This word has been the subject of controversy among epigraphical scholars, and is of much linguistic interest as the chief word with which endowments to monastic institutions are described in this period.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register contains a lengthy description of the literary warfare waged between Bell and Wickremasinghe on the interpretation of the word *kusalān*.[6] While editing the Dim̐bulāgala Mārāvīdiye Rock-Inscription, Wickremasinghe translated *kusalān karavā* as " caused the construction of sacred *kusalān* (vessels ?)",[7] and adduced as evidence a clause in the Galpota record, reading it as *daru kusalān maṅga kusalān*, &c.[8] Bell rightly pointed out that the reading should be *daru*

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[1] *E. Z.* II, pp 194–202.

[2] See ante p. 1, *Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I.* Paranavitana places the death of Vijayabāhu I in 1110-11 A.D., and hence the accession of Jayabāhu must have taken place in the same year. Wickremasinghe (*E. Z.* III, p. 22) Geiger (*Cūḷavaṁsa* Part II, p. XIII) and G. C. Mendis (*Early History of Ceylon*, p. 125) all mention 1114 A.D. as the date of Jayabāhu's accession. Codrington, (*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. XVII) makes Jayabāhu's rule in Rohaṇa begin in 1108, but gives the date of Vijayabāhu's death as 1111 A.D.

[3] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. 71, vv. 1–5.

[4] *E. Z.*, IV, pp. 1–8.

[5] *E. Z.*, III, pp. 312–325.

[6] Vol. X, part 1, p. 6.

[7] *E. Z.* II, Articles 31, 34 and note on p. 198.

[8] *E. Z.*, II, p. 111.

kusalān maha kusalān, "benefactions, small and great", and exposed the glaring mistake made by Wickremasinghe in reading a line in the Aṁbagamuva Rock-Inscription as *metuvāk tän kusalān bo(pā) koṭa.* The correct reading as given by Bell is *metuvāk tän kusalān boṭā koṭa,* and it has been authenticated by an estampage of the inscription taken recently. Wickremasinghe has undoubtedly erred, and Bell has shown much sagacity in translating the phrase as "having made meritorious benefaction to be ever maintained"[6] and in deriving the word *boṭā* from the Sanskrit root *bhṛt,* "to support".

So far as the interpretation of the word *kusalān* was concerned, Bell's argument was sound, but his derivation of the word is not quite acceptable. He says "First, as to derivation. The word *kusalān* ('drinking vessel' only in its secondary sense) is derived from Sanskrit *kusa,* 'water', *lāna* (Skt. *lāna*) 'giving' or 'receiving' (strictly 'placing') and signifies literally 'a benefaction given and received by the pouring of water".[1] It is true that the custom of pouring water on the hands of the recipient when something was dedicated existed from very early times, as is seen in the phrase, *sovaṇa koturu(ni) niyate,* found in the Mōlāhiṭiyavelēgala Rock-Inscription of Bhātikābhaya.[2] *Kusa,* used in the sense of water, is rare in the Sinhalese language. Therefore, we have to turn elsewhere for the origin of the word *kusalān.* Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka Thera has derived the word from *kuśalāyatana* in his *Śrī Sumaṅgala Śabdakoṣaya*.[3] But the use of the word *srāvaṇa* in referring to ancient documents leads us in another direction. Asoka's *dharmalipi* are called *dhaṁma-sāvaṇa,*[4] and the word *āvaṇam*[5] is used in the same sense in Tamil inscriptions.[5] The proclamation of a meritorious benefaction would thus be a *kuśala-śrāvaṇa,* and we take this to be the origin of the word. In modern times the word *kusalān* has given rise to *Koholāna,* and *koholan kaḷa iḍama* is a land dedicated to the *saṁgha.* Four miles north-east of Hambantoṭa is a village named Koholankaḷa, bordering a salt-pan named Koholankaḷa-lēvāya.

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[1] *C. A. L. R.,* Vol. X, pt. 1, p. 7.

[2] *E. Z.,* III, p. 154.

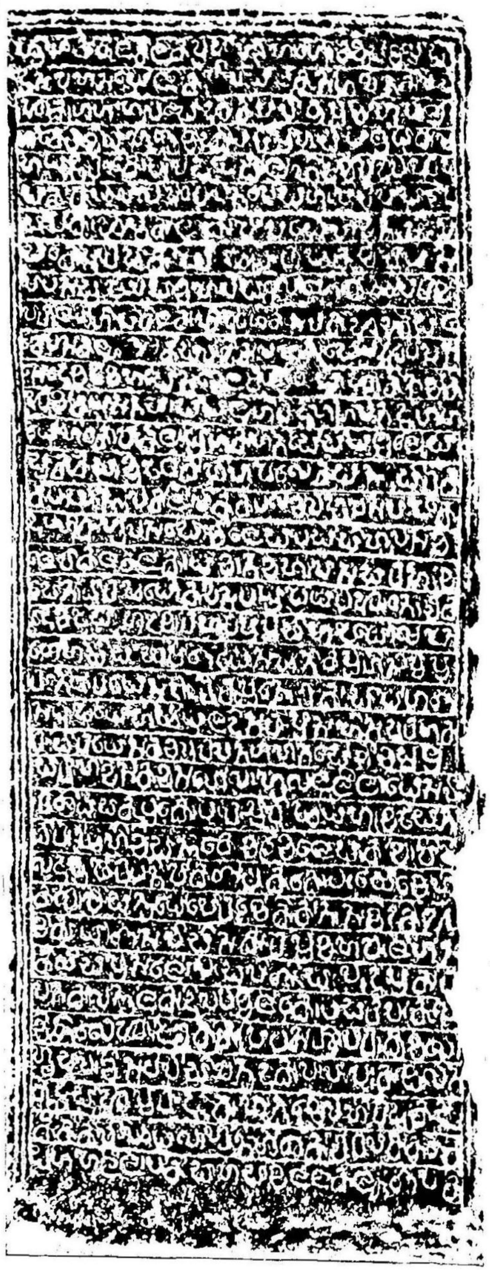
[3] p. 226.

[4] *Dhaṁma sāvaṇāni sāvāpayāmi*- Seventh Pillar Edict: Delhi-Topra. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. I, Hultzsch, p. 132.

[5] See Inscription of Rājarāja I in *South Indian Inscriptions,* Hultzsch, Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 105, n. 19– *vilai-śrāvaṇai* is the same as *vilaiy-āvaṇam.* [Here *āvaṇam* is a deed of a sale of land. In ancient times a sale of land was by proclamation, *śrāvaṇa.*]

[6] There is also a village named Koholāna, 4 miles to the north-east of Kalutara.

Miṇipe Slab-Inscription



Scale 1¾ inches to 1 foot

Kaṭagamuva Slab-Inscription

Scale 2 inches to 1 foot

TEXT

1 **ජයබාහු** දෙවයන්වහන්සෙ ප-
2 -න්තිස්වන්නෙ **මානාබරණ** දෙව-
3 -යන්වහන්සෙ **මා[1]තිරදෙණියෙ-**
4 **-න්** දසාමුණක් හා **කොසො-**
5 **-ම්බුරෙන්**[2] තුනමුණක් හා තෙ-
6 -ළසමුණ **තළාමුහුඤුගි(රි)**
7 විහාරයට කුසලාන් (කොට)
8 දුන්නෙ මෙ ගල්(හි කොට)-
9 -වා කුසලානට පමුණු[3] (කො)-
10 -ට දුන් තැනට බාධා (කළ)
11 කෙණෙක් ඇත නිර(ය බ)-
12 -ටුවාහ කවුඩු බලු වූ(වාහයි)

TRANSLITERATION

1 **Jayabāhu** devayanvahanse pa-
2 -ntisvanne **Mānābaraṇa** deva-
3 -yanvahanse **Mā[4]tiradeṇiye-**
4 **-n** dasāmuṇak hā **Koso-**
5 **-mburen** tunamuṇak hā te-
6 -ḷasamuṇa **Taḷāmuhundugi(ri)**
7 vihārayaṭa kusalān (koṭa)
8 dunne me gal (hi koṭa)-
9 -vā kusalānaṭa pamuṇu [5] (ko)-
10 -ṭa dun tänaṭa bādhā (kaḷa)
11 kenek äta nira(ya ba)-
12 -ṭuvāha kavuḍu balu vū(vāhayi)

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[1] ඇලපිල්ල තිබෙන්නේ අකුරේ දකුණු පැත්තේ උඩයි.

[2] mbu has been written as a conjoint letter in the inscription. It is here shown thus due to the absence of necessary type.

[3] පාපිල්ල පෙනෙන්න නැහැ.

[4] The ā-sign is in the top right hand side of the letter.

[5] The u- sign is not visible.

TRANSLATION

[Lines 1–8] In the thirty-fifth year of His Majesty **Jayabāhu,** His Majesty **Mānābaraṇa** granted ten *amuṇas* (of paddy) from **Mātiradeṇiya,** and three *amunas* from **Kosombura;** thirteen *amuṇas* in all, as a gift to the monastery at **Taḷāmuhundugiri,** inscribing it on this slab.

[Lines 9–12] If there be men who obstruct this dedication of land as heritable property,[1] they would descend into hell and be born as crows and dogs.

No. 12. MIṆIPE SLAB-INSCRIPTION

BY S. PARANAVITANA

AMONG the great irrigation works of the ancient Sinhalese, found all over those regions of the Island where the seasonal rainfall has to be stored in order to feed a land parched up during the prolonged drought, none is more remarkable as a feat of engineering than the stone dam constructed at Miṇipe across the Mahaväli Gaṅga— the longest of the Island's rivers—not far from the point where that stream emerges from the mountains to the plains of the north-eastern regions, and the channel along which the waters thus diverted were led to irrigate extensive tracts of rice fields on the left bank of the river for about thirty miles of its course.[2]

With the decay of the Sinhalese civilisation, which set in after the thirteenth century, this great irrigation work, which in ancient times enabled a considerable agricultural community to flourish in those fertile regions, was neglected, so that, for over five hundred years, it no longer served the needs of man, and the river flowed placidly through jungles infested with swarms of malarial mosquitoes and herds of wild animals. The pressure of population in the western and southern parts of the Island, and the uncertainty of supplies of rice from abroad in the conditions created by the last World War, have forced the attention of the authorities once more on those regions which saw the flowering of Sinhalese culture. A new dam has been constructed at Miṇipe, and the channel has been restored throughout a considerable part of its original length. Thousands of acres have been

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[1] *pamuṇu*—See *E. Z.* III, p. 276. n. 3.

[2] For an account of this dam and channel, see R. L. Brohier, *Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*, pt.1, pp. 9–12.

cleared of jungle, and converted into rice fields and plantations. In this process of reclaiming the land from the jungle, evidence is often found that twentieth century man is but repeating a process which had been successfully undertaken by his forbears for a long period of time, until the ravages of warfare and pestilence made the jungle prevail against the efforts of man. And among these numerous witnesses of the past is the slab-inscription which forms the subject of the present paper.

The slab was discovered in 1944 in the course of clearing a plot of land situated about a quarter of a mile to the north-west of the seventh mile-post on the road from Vēragantoṭa to Miṇipe. About 150 yards from the stone is an old Bo tree and some structural remains of an unimportant character [1]. The slab measures 3 ft. by 5 ft., and has been inscribed on both faces. On the obverse face, the edges of the slab have been fashioned into a moulded frame within which the writing, covering a space of 4 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft., has been executed. The framing at the bottom has all but worn away; it is also damaged on the other sides. The reverse face, which lay exposed to the weather after the stone had fallen down, is badly damaged. No trace of any framing is preserved on the edges of this face; of the writing itself, what is preserved on the reverse is hardly sufficient to have a connected reading of even a single clause. On the obverse face are 37 lines of writing which are separated from each other by parallel horizontal lines. The individual letters, incised fairly deep, vary in height between $\frac{3}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Apart from a few letters which are blurred, but could be read with the aid of the context, the writing on this face is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The script is of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and has a general resemblance to that of the numerous epigraphs of Niśśaṁka Malla.[2] The left half of the letter *na* is not looped, as it normally is in the script of this period, but forms a vertical stroke slanting slightly towards the right. This archaic type of *na* is also met with in the Ruvanvälisāya inscription of Niśśaṁka Malla.[3] The *ā*-stroke, in many instances, does not curve towards the right, as is usual in the script of the period, but is almost vertical. In some instances, for example in *bhā* in l. 26 and *rā* in l. 27, it curves leftwards. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish the *ā*- from the *ä*-stroke. In some of

[1] These details are from a report furnished by Mr. P. H. W. Peiris, then Architectural Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, who inspected the site, and had an estampage prepared of the epigraph. See also *A. S. C., A. R.* for 1940–45, pp. 40–41.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. II, plates 15 to 28, 38 and Vol. III, plate 11.

[3] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, Plate 13.

the ligatures like *ṣka* and *ṇṭa* (1. 28), the two consonantal symbols are not joined together, as is the usual practice, but the *virāma* sign—a short horizontal stroke—is attached to the first consonant.

The **language** is Sinhalese prose of the type familiar to us from the inscriptions of Parākramabāhu I[1] and Niśśaṁka Malla, and such literary works as the *Thūpavaṁsa* and the *Pūjāvalī*, dating from the Polonnaru and Daṁbadeṇi periods. The proportion of Sanskrit *tatsamas* in this record is not so large as in the average document of the twelfth century. Unusual words occurring in the present document are :—*puvū* (1. 20), *hasi-saṁghaṭṭaṇa* (1. 21), *ūra gat* (1. 23) and *hanumbehi* (1. 35). The scribe who drafted this inscription, evidently, was a stylist of some skill, for he has, not without success, made a conscious attempt to impart a literary flavour to his composition. Considerable portions of the document, for instance ll. 15 to 17 and ll. 23 to 26, are in the rhythmic style called *vṛtta-gandhi*, with which we are familiar from Sinhalese literary works like the *Daḷadā-sirita* and *Kuvēṇi-asna*. He has indulged in many a flight of poetic fancy, and some of his conceits, for example the comparison of the Miṇibe channel to a " noble son, given birth to, for the good of the world, by the Queen named Mahavāli-gaṅga ", are apt and striking.

The **eighth year of Queen Kalyāṇavatī** (1202–1208 A.D.) is referred to in the inscription ; but the context does not make it necessary to consider this as the **date** of the document. This point will be discussed in the sequel together with historical information furnished by the record.

As the concluding part of the inscription is lost, we are unable to ascertain what its **object** was. But, from the phrase *maha-saṅganaṭa nirantarayen sivu-pasin maha-dan pavatvā*, which constitutes almost all that can be deciphered from the obverse face, it can be inferred that the purport of the document, in common with the majority of ancient inscriptions in Ceylon, was to record benefactions to a Buddhist religious establishment. The old Bo tree at the place where the inscription was found, and the structural remains to be seen there, are presumably the vestiges of the *vihāra* benefited by the donation which it was the purpose of this inscription to register.

The name of the **donor** is found in the preserved portion, and the inscription, in recounting his achievements, gives us much valuable information regarding the history of the period in which he flourished, and that of the

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[1] See for example, *E. Z.*, Vol. II, No. 41 and Vol. III, No. 34.

Miṇibe channel which, presumably, he repaired. It is indeed fortunate that the inscribed slab, when it fell down, did so with the obverse face downwards. Otherwise, the historical introduction of this record, instead of the details of the religious benefaction, would have been obliterated by the action of the weather, and a number of high dignitaries, who doubtless played a prominent part in the politics as well as in the administration of the Island in their day, would have remained for ever in the oblivion to which Fate had consigned them for several centuries.

In addition to being a stylist, the unknown author of this document also appears to have been one who took pride in his knowledge of history. He opens the document with a reference to the legendary visit of the Buddha to **Mahiyaṅgaṇa,** not far from **Miṇibe,** and states that **Queen Kalyāṇavatī** succeeded to the throne after a long line of rulers, starting with Vijaya, who arrived in this Island in the eighth year of King Ajātaśatru of India. The last statement is clearly based on the chronological data furnished in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[1] In referring to the predecessors of Kalyāṇavatī, he divides them into two categories—kings mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and those whose histories are recounted in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. The author of the *Pūjāvalī*, who flourished about a generation later, follows the same procedure which has also been adopted in many later histories written in the Sinhalese language.[2] Our document is the earliest in which this classification of the rulers of Ceylon has been met with.

Coming to his own times, and with reference to his immediate purpose, the author informs us that, in the eighth year of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, Tamil hordes landed in the Island of Ceylon, destroyed the **minister named Āti** and, sweeping everything before them, caused havoc to the established order of society as well as to the Buddhist religion all through the length and breadth of the Island. When things were in this sorry plight, an army commander named **Bhāma, a scion of the Malevi family,** after a protracted struggle in which he proved his valour in numerous encounters against his enemies, Sinhalese as well as Tamil, succeeded in bestowing the blessings of peace and orderly government on that part of the country appertaining to him, presumably the districts round Miṇibe. In addition to the somewhat conventional phrases in which the great qualities of the general are extolled, his prowess in battle and the heroism displayed by the Sinhalese warriors

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[1] *Dīpavaṁsa*, XI, 8. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. II, v. 32 and Chap. VI, v. 47.

[2] *Pūjāvalī*, 34th chapter, edited by Mabopitiye Medhaṅkara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 16.

whom he led against the enemies of his country are described in superlative terms. The author of our document quite frankly glorifies war; the battle-field, made scarlet with the blood of enemies, appeared to him as beautiful as the earth adorned with clusters of lotuses. This attitude, which no doubt helped in sustaining the warlike spirit among his countrymen, was evidently called for by the stern realities of the period, when the Sinhalese race was threatened with extinction by the constant invasions from South India, and the chronic dissensions among their own rulers. That the Sinhalese did not perish as a race during the dark period of the first quarter of the thirteenth century may be partly due to the spirit infused into them by people like the writer of this inscription.

Having thus introduced us to his hero, the author tells us that the **Miṇibe** channel, which was originally constructed in ancient times by a minister named **Mē-kit-nā** (P. Megha-Kitti-Nātha, Skt. Megha-Kīrtti-Nātha) continued to function up to the twentieth year of Śrī **Parākramabāhu** (the First). This statement implies that the channel, or the dam, was breached on that date. Next follows an enumeration of the Island's rulers who successively came to the throne after the close of Parākramabāhu I's reign up to Queen Kalyāṇavatī. The legible part of the document ends here. We may, however, safely conjecture that the missing portion of the document contained an account of the repair of the Miṇibe channel by General Bhāma, and ended with details regarding the religious benefaction which was the subject of the record.

In considering the historical information supplied by this record, it should be noted that the *Cūḷavaṁsa*,[1] agreeing with the *Pūjāvalī*[2] and the *Rājāvalī*,[3] attributes a reign of only six years to Kalyāṇavatī, against our document which mentions the eighth year of that sovereign. The chronicles, too, are silent about a Tamil invasion which occurred in her reign. The inscription discovered at Bōpiṭiya[4]—a place only 17 miles distant, as the crow flies, from Miṇipe, tells us, however, that Kalyāṇavatī was forced to ignominious flight due to Tamil trouble. The Tamil invasion mentioned in our record as having occurred in Kalyāṇavatī's reign, attested as it is by other evidence, may be taken as a historical fact, though lacking the testimony of the chronicles. The *Cūḷavaṁsa* itself, though it is silent about

[1] Chap. 80, v. 84.
[2] Chap. 34, op. cit., p. 25.
[3] Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's translation, Colombo, 1900, p. 61.
[4] *E. Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 190–192.

a Tamil invasion under the reign of Kalyāṇavatī, mentions such an event which could be placed in the eighth year from her accession. This authority says that Kalyāṇavatī's reign lasted for six years, at the end of which an infant prince named Dharmmāśoka was placed on the throne, presumably by Āyasmanta, the general who supported Kalyāṇavatī's rule.[1] We are not told that Kalyāṇavatī died at the end of six years from accession, nor are we given any information regarding the infant Dharmmāśoka's parentage. The luckless infant Dharmmāśoka had been on the throne for one year when a prince named Anīkaṅga invaded the island at the head of a large army from the Coḷa country, slew the infant ruler as well as the general Āyasmanta, and temporarily made himself master of Poḷonnaruva.[2] Anīkaṅga's invasion of Ceylon would thus fall in the eighth year after Kalyāṇavatī's accession. If we are justified in assuming that the end of Kalyāṇavatī's rule after six years does not imply her passing away, and that she was regarded as the legitimate sovereign of the Island by a section of the people, while Āyasmanta ruled at Poḷonnaruva in the name of Dharmmāśoka, it can be taken that our inscription, in referring to an invasion of the Island by Tamil forces in the eighth year of Kalyāṇavatī, refers to Anīkaṅga's expedition.

This hypothesis would gain strong support if we can identify the minister named Āti who, according to our inscription, was slain by the Tamil invaders in the eighth year of Kalyāṇavatī, with Āyasmanta, the general whom Anīkaṅga destroyed before he gained the throne of Poḷonnaruva. Our record mentions the destruction of the minister Āti as the event which enabled the Tamil forces to overwhelm the land. He must, therefore, have been the central figure in the Sinhalese political organisation when the Tamil forces landed in the Island. And, in the chronicles, this position is occupied at that time by Āyasmanta, who was the power behind the throne in the reigns of Kalyāṇavatī and Dharmmāśoka. It is also not impossible that the Sinhalese name, Āti, of the inscription is identical with the Pali form Āyasmanta of the chronicles. "Ayasmanta" means "possessing long life", and was no doubt a translation into Pali of a Sinhalese name, as so many other names figuring in the chronicles, in fact, are. The Sinhalese name "Āti" could have been analysed by a learned man of the time as resulting from the euphonic combination of the two constituents *ā* and

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 80, v. 42.

[2] *Ibid*, Chap. 80, vv. 34–44.

äti. *Ā* is the regular equivalent in Sinhalese of Pali *āyu* (Skt. *āyuṣ*), and *äti* corresponds to the suffix *-manta*. In the *Pūjāvalī*,[1] however, this General's name is Elalu Ābō Senevirat. The element *Ā* is also found in this form of the name. It is difficult to reconcile *bō* with the second syllable of the name appearing in our record, which also has the epithet *ämati* in place of *senevirad* in the *Pūjāvalī*.

It may be argued that the Tamil invasion led by Anīkaṅga did not have such far-reaching consequences as our document attributes to the invasion which it records. For, according to the chronicle, Anīkaṅga himself was disposed of, only seventeen days after his seizure of the sovereignty, by a General named Vikkanta, who set up Līlāvatī for the second time on the throne, and ruled through her for one year.[2] But the assassination of the leader and the seizure of the capital do not necessarily mean that the invading forces were disposed of in all parts of the island. One year after Anīkaṅga's invasion, there was another led by Lokissara,[3] and barely two years had passed from the last event when a Tamil army, led by a Pāṇḍyan prince named Parākrama, effected another change in the government.[4] All these various invasions, coming so close to one another, were possibly not disconnected happenings, as the *Cūḷavaṁsa* would have us believe, but were connected links in a chain of which the first was the invasion recorded in our epigraph.

The General **Bhāma** comes here for the first time within the ken of historians. The family to which he belonged, the **Malevi-kula,** does not appear to have produced any other person of disctinction, for it is mentioned nowhere else. At the time the inscription was set up, Bhāma was ruling the country round Miṇipe, apparently owning no allegiance to any overlord. He carved out this principality for himself, after much fighting, during the troubled period which set in towards the end of Līlāvatī's reign. After he established his position, and before the date of this inscription, he had busied himself in developing his territory by repairing the irrigation work at Miṇipe, and in religious activities. All this must have taken several years from the eighth year of Kalyāṇavatī, after which date it was that he embarked

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[1] Chap. 34, op. cit., p. 25.
[2] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Chap. 80, vv. 45–46.
[3] *Ibid*, Chap. 80, vv. 47–48.
[4] *Ibid*, Chap. 80, vv. 51–53.

on the enterprise of maintaining his territory free from the influence of the Tamil invaders who subjugated Polonnaruva, and other Sinhalese adventurers who attempted to take advantage of this position. It was only four years after the eighth of Kalyāṇavatī that the ruthless Māgha, with his South Indian hordes, imposed his rule on the greater part of Ceylon, and dealt the *coup de grace* to the Sinhalese kingdom of Polonnaruva. It, therefore, seems very probable that our epigraph belongs to the period assigned to Māgha (1214–1235) in the chronology of Ceylon.

The *Cūḷavaṁsa*, in enumerating the Sinhalese nobles who successfully kept the armies of Māgha at bay and maintained the national traditions and institutions within their limited spheres of authority, mentions a General named Saṅkha, who had his headquarters at the mountain stronghold of Gaṅgādoṇi in the district of Maṇimekhala.[1] It will be shown in the sequel that "Maṇimekhala" is the name by which the *Cūḷavaṁsa* refers to Miṇipe. By the Pali name Gaṅgādoṇi, we should expect a place called Gaṁdeṇiya in Sinhalese. A place of that name, in fact, still exists among the hills of the Gampaha Kōrale in the Uḍukiṅda Division of the Uva Province, about fifteen miles in a direct line to the south of Miṇipe. The area over which General Saṅkha of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* ruled is, therefore, the same as the territory of General Bhāma of our record, and they belonged more or less to the same period. It is not, therefore, impossible that Bhāma of our epigraph is identical with Saṅkha of the chronicle.

The name Saṅkha adopted in Geiger's text of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* is not free from doubt, for none of the manuscripts utilised by him has this reading. Two of the manuscripts have the reading *Pabba* and four *Sabba*. Neither "Pabba" nor "Sabba" has been found elsewhere as a personal name. Geiger, therefore, has adopted the reading "Saṅkha" found in their stead in Sumangala and Batuvantudave's edition of the chronicle. These two scholars do not indicate whether the reading "Saṅkha" is actually found in any manuscript utilised by them. Most likely, this particular reading does not occur in any manuscript, but the Sinhalese editors, finding that the name of the general found in the manuscripts was obviously corrupt, christened him with one which they considered appropriate. It is not impossible that the name has undergone corruption and none of the manuscripts preserves the correct reading. This could have happened easily if the original reading was Bhāma,

[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 81, v. 7.

a very unusual name. If one does not accept the suggestion that our Bhāma is the Saṅkha of Geiger's edition of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, the general figuring in the chronicle can be taken as the successor, possibly a son, of the dignitary of similar status who had this epigraph set up.

The statement that the Miṇipe channel was originally constructed by a minister named **Mē-kit-nā** is of considerable importance for studying the history of the ancient irrigation works in Ceylon. No authentic information has hitherto been available regarding the history of this great engineering achievement in irrigation. Unfortunately, our document merely mentions the name of the dignitary who originally constructed this channel, but says nothing as to when he flourished, beyond the vague phrase "in the past". It is, therefore, necessary to investigate whether any light is thrown by the chronicles on this dignitary, or the great irrigation project which he carried out.

A minister of the name of Megha-kitti-nātha (the equivalent in Pali of the Sinhalese Mē-kit-nā) is not mentioneed in the *Mahāvaṁsa* or, as far as my knowledge goes, in any other historical writing of the Sinhalese. No reference in the chronicles to the Miṇipe channel has also been detected hitherto. The form of this geographical name that one would expect in Pali is "Maṇibheda", and, in fact, a district named Maṇibheda, referred to in the Pali *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṁsa* (*Hvv*),[1] is called Miṇibe in the Sinhalese version of that text[2]. This name does not occur in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, but it would be very strange if such an important work is ignored therein while scores of smaller works are mentioned. It is, therefore, not impossible that the author of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* rendered this Sinhalese name into Pali in a form different from that in the *Hvv*.

There are, in fact, two references in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* (42, 34 and 51, 72) to a dam, named Maṇimekhala, across the Mahaväligaṅga (Gaṁgā, as it is always referred to in the earlier chapters of that work). In the comprehensive surveys of the entire course of the river carried out in modern times, there have been found only two places where this river had been tapped, in ancient times, for irrigation purposes.[3] One is Kaliṅgu Nuvara, not far from Polonnaruva, and the other, where are found remains which are by far the more important, is Miṇibe. The Maṇimekhaḷa dam, therefore, must have been at one of these two places.

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[1] Edited by Pandit Dehigaspe Paññāsāra, Colombo, B. E. 2478, p. 4.

[2] *Eḷu Attanagalu-vaṁsa*, edited by M. Kumaranatunga, Colombo, 1925, p. 3.

[3] R. L. Brohier, *Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*, pt. I, pages 9–12.

The first parts of the names " Miṇibe " and " Maṇimekhala " are identical, the Sinhalese *miṇi* being the regular equivalent of Skt. or P., *maṇi*. One of the meanings of the Skt. and P. *mekhalā* is " the slope of a mountain ", and the word occurring in classical Sinhalese in this sense is *beyada* [1] which, by regular phonological changes, would develop into *bē*. It is, therefore, possible that, just as the author of the *Hvv.*, in the thirteenth century, translated the Sinhalese name "Miṇibe" into Pali as " Maṇibheda ", the author of that part of the *Cūlavaṁsa* rendered an earlier form of that name, " Miṇi-beyada ", by "Maṇimekhala ". As Miṇipe is on the slope of a mountain range, the original form of the name could appropriately have been *Miṇi-beyada*. To take *be* in the name *Minibe* as *bheda* meaning " dividing " &c. does not impart much sense to it. I, therefore, identify the dam called Maṇimekhala of the *Mahāvaṁsa* with Miṇibe.

As has been stated above, we learn from another reference in the chronicle that there was a place called Gaṅgādoṇi (Gaṁdeṇiya) in the district of Maṇimekhala. The existence of a place of that name within a reasonable distance from Miṇipe adds corroborative evidence to this identification. As Gaṁdeṇiya [2] is to the right of the Mahaväligaṅga, while Miṇipe is on its left bank, we have to accept that the district of Miṇibe (or Maṇimekhala) extended on both banks of the river. In the *Hvv.*, Mahiyaṅgaṇa Dāgäba is stated to have been in this district,[3] and this shrine, too, is on the right bank of the river.

The earlier reference in the chronicle credits Aggabodhi I (*circa* 571–604) with having constructed the dam (*bandhana*) named Maṇimekhala, but it does not definitely say that it was across the Mahaväli Gaṅga. This information is furnished by the second reference, which states that Sena II (853–887) " had the Maṇimekhala dam built on the Gaṅgā ". In neither of these statements do we get the name of the minister who, according to our inscription, carried out the work of constructing the Miṇipe dam. It is not usual for the chronicler to furnish us with the names of ministers and other dignitaries under whose direction public works were carried out. All works carried out during the reign of a particular king are, as a general rule, ascribed to him. On the other hand, local tradition would have remembered the name of the officer who was directly responsible for the work, in preference

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[1] See *Ruvanmala*, v. 189, where *mevul* (Skt. *mekhalā*) and *beyada* are given as synonymous.

[2] Mr. P. H. W. Peiris inspected Gaṁdeṇiya in 1945 and has reported the existence of ancient remains at the place.

[3] *Hvv.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–6.

to that of the king under whom he carried it out. And it is probably such a local tradition that our epigraph has recorded. The chronicle refers to the construction of the dam in both these reigns as an original undertaking. Even restoration of earlier works is referred to in the chronicle by a word (*kārāpesi*, etc.), which could be applicable to an original construction. It may, therefore, be assumed that what was effected in the reign of Sena II was a repair of the dam built in an earlier period. It is also not impossible that, even in the reign of Aggabodhi I, it was only a restoration that was undertaken. It cannot be decided whether Mē-kit-nā flourished in the reign of Aggabodhi I or Sena II. The form of the name is appropriate to the latter reign which fell in the ninth century. It is also likely that local tradition in the thirteenth century would have remembered the last occasion on which the dam was constructed better than earlier ones. We may, therefore, take Mē-Kit-nā to have carried out the work of constructing the Miṇipe dam on the orders of Sena II.

Our document gives fourteen years as the period which elapsed from the twentieth year of Parākramabāhu to the beginning of the reign of his successor. According to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Parākramabāhu reigned for thirty-three years [1]. If this means that he completed his thirty-third year before he died, his death would have occurred in his thirty-fourth year. There is thus no disagreement between our record and the chronicle with regard to the duration of that monarch's reign.

Our document enumerates the successors of Parākramabāhu, up to Kalyāṇavatī, as : Kīrtti Vijayabāhu, Niśśaṁka, Erapatta, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī, Sāhasamalla and Kalyāṇavatī. The succession of rulers for this period, according to the chronicle, is : Vijayabāhu II, Mahinda VI, Niśśaṁka Malla, Vīrabāhu I, Vikramabāhu II, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī, Sāhasamalla and Kalyāṇavatī.[2] It would be noted that our document omits Mahinda VI and Vīrabāhu I. The first of these held the sceptre for five days only and the second was murdered on the very day of his accession. The writer of our document had, therefore, full justification for the omission of their names from his list. The predecessor of Coḍagaṅga, according to the chronicles. was Vikramabāhu,[3] whereas, according to our document, he was Erapatta, We may reconcile this discrepancy by assuming that Vikramabāhu was the throne name of this ruler, whose personal name was Erapatta—a curious

[1] Chap. 79, v. 86.
[2] *Cūḷavaṃsa*, chap. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, chap. 80, vv. 28–29.

appellation, probably of Tamil origin. Perhaps he was better known to the people by this designation, and the writer of our document preferred it to the official name adopted by the chronicler. The epithet of Kīrtti is bestowed by our document on Vijayabāhu II, while the chronicler attaches it to his better-known half-brother, Niṣṣaṁka Malla.[1] Perhaps both rulers claimed this epithet, and writers used it in connection with their names according to their whim and pleasure. For the rest, there is complete agreement between our document and the chronicle.

TEXT

Side A

1 ශ්‍රීශාක්‍යකුලතිලකවූ අප මහාගෞතම සම්බුදුර-
2 -දුන් වහන්සෙ ලංකාවීපයට තුන්ගමනක් වැඩ
3 ආකාශගඞ්ගාව සෙ අතිපවිත්‍රවූ මහවැලි-
4 ගංබඩැ **මියුගුණුමාසෑය** පිටුවා සියලු යක්ෂ-
5 භය දුරු කොටැ වදළ කල්හි දඹදිව අජා-
6 සත්රජහට අටවනු වෙසගැ පුර පසළො-
7 -ස්වකැ අවුත් ලංකාවිපයෙහි මනුෂ්‍යවා-
8 -ස කොටැ රජ කළ විජයරාජකුමාරයන්
9 පටන් සුළුවසැ මහවසැ බොහො රාජපරම්-
10 -පරායෙහි සිරිලක්හි අගනැත්පත් **අභාසල-**
11 **-මෙවන් කල්‍යාණවතී** සවාමීන්වහන්සෙට අටවන්-
12 -නෙ දෙමළමහසෙන් මෙලකට බැසැ **ආනී** නමැති
13 ඇමතියන් නසා සියලු ගිරිදුර්ග වනදුර්ග-
14 -යෙහි නො පැකිළැ යුගන්ගිනි සේ සියලු ලොස-
15 -සුන් නසා මුළුලක්හි පැළබෙන සඳ සිරික-
16 -නට උවිඤුවන් විසිකතට බඹහුවන් පළනෙ-
17 -දට හිරුහු වන් සොම්ලෙසට සිසිහු වන් ම-
18 **-ලෙවිකුලතිලකායමාන මහපින්සර හාම-**
19 **සෙනාධිරාජයො** නමන්ට යුඬයට ආ නොඑක්
20 දෙමළ සිංහළ මාරභට පුවූ සිංහළයොබළන්
21 -ගෙ හසිසංඝට්ටණයෙන් ජනිතවූ ගිනිපුපු-
22 -රුනිකරයෙන් තිරතවූ නොයෙක් සියගණ-
23 -න් යුඬයෙහි ජය ලදින් රූපුනැඟින් ඌර ගත්
24 රුධිරයෙන් තම්බුරවනගඟන සෙ මීමඬුලු
25 සරහමින් තමන්ගේ බාහුබලලීලායෙන් වී-
26 -රශ්‍රිය සතුටු කොටැ රුපුවිජය **හාමසෙනා-**

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 80, v. 18.

27 **-ඩිරාජ** හිමිසඳ තෙම මෙලෙස තමා පිළි-
28 බඳ මුළුරට නිෂ්කණ්ටක කොටැ සෙමෙහි
29 තබා වසනුයේ පෙර **මේකිත්නා** නැමැති අ
30 -මාත්‍යයාණන් විසින් කැරවූ **මහවැලිගං** නැ[මැ]-
31 -නි බිසවුන් ලොවැඩ පිණිස වැදූ පුත්‍රු-
32 -වනක් බන්‍දු ලක්දිවට මුල්කොටසර වැ තුබූ
33 **මිණිබෙ ඇළ** එතැන් පටන් **ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබා-**
34 **-හු** සවාමින්ට විසිවනු දක්වා පැවැතැ ඔබින්
35 තුදුස් අවුරුද්දක් හනුමෙබහි රජ කළ
36 කීර්තිවිජයබාහු නිශ්ශංක එරපත්ත චො-
37 -ඩගඟ ලීලාවතී සාහසමල්ල කල්‍යාණවතී

Side B

Worn

TRANSLITERATION

Side A

1 Śri-śākya-kula-tilaka-vū apa mahā-Gautama sam-budu-ra-
2 -dun vahanse Laṁkā-dvīpayaṭa tun-gamanak vädä
3 Ākāśa-gaṁgāva se ati-pavitra-vū Mahaväli-
4 gaṁ-baḍā **Miyuṅguṇu-mā-sāya** pīṭuvā siyalu yakṣa-
5 bhaya duru koṭā vadāḷa kalhi Daṁbadiva Ajā-
6 -sat-rajahaṭa aṭa-vanu Vesagä pura pasaḷo-
7 -s-vakä avut Laṁkā-dvīpayehi manuṣya-vā-
8 -sa koṭā raja kaḷa Vijaya-rāja-kumārayan
9 paṭan suḷu-vasä maha-vasä boho rāja-param-
10 -parāyehi Siri-Lak'hi aga-tän-pat **Abhā Sala-**
11 **-mevan Kalyāṇavatī** svāmīn vahanseṭa aṭa-van-
12 -ne Demaḷa-maha-sen me-Lakaṭa bäsä Āti namäti
13 ämatiyan nasā siyalu giri-durgga vana-durgga-
14 -yehi no päkilä yugat-gini sē siyalu lo-sa-
15 -sun nasā muḷu -Lak'hi päḷabena sanda Siri-ka-
16 -taṭa Uviṅdu van Visi-kataṭa Baṁbahu van paḷa-te-
17 -daṭa Hiruhu van Somi-lesaṭa Sisihu van **Ma-**
18 **-levi-kula-tilakāyamāna** maha-pin-sara **Bhāma-**
19 **senādhi-rājayo** tamanṭa yuddhayaṭa ā no-ek

20 Demaḷa Siṁhaḷa māra-bhaṭa puvū Siṁhaḷa-yobaḷan-
21 ge hasi-saṁghaṭṭaṇayen [1] janita-vū gini-pupu-
22 -ru-nikarayen nirata-vū noyek siya-gaṇa-
23 -n yuddhayehi jaya ladin rupun -äṅgin ūra gat
24 rudhirayen tambura-vana-gahana se mī-maṇḍulu
25 sarahamin tamangē bāhu-bala-līlāyen Vī-
26 -ra-śriya satuṭu koṭä rupu-vijaya **Bhāma-senā-**
27 **-dhirāja** himi-sanda tema me-lesa tamā piḷi-
28 bada muḷu-raṭa niṣkaṇṭaka koṭä semehī
29 tabā vasanuyē pera **Mē-kit-nā** nämäti a-
30 -mātyayāṇan visin karavū **Mahaväli-gaṁ** nä[mä]-
31 -ti bisavun lo-väḍa piṇisa vädū put-ru-
32 -vanak bandu Lak-divaṭa mul-koṭasara vä tubū
33 **Miṇibe-äla** e-tän paṭan Śri **Parākrama-bā-**
34 **-hu-**svāmīnṭa visi-vanu dakvā pävätā obin
35 tudus-avuruddak hanumbehi raja kaḷa
36 Kīrtti-Vijaya-bāhu Niśśaṁka Erapatta Co-
37 -ḍa-gaṅga Līlāvatī Sāhasamalla Kalyāṇavatī

Side B

Worn

TRANSLATION [2]

[Ll. 1–5] When Our Lord,[3] the great Gautama, the Fully Awakened One,[4] the Ornament [5] of the illustrious Śākya family, having paid three

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[1] Read *asi-saṁghaṭṭanayen.*

[2] The Sinhalese text of the inscription, so far as it is preserved, does not contain a single finite verb. In order to make the English translation intelligible, it has been necessary to treat, as sentences, some of the clauses of the cumbersome complex sentence by taking a few participles as finite verbs.

[3] *Radun vahanse : Radun,* literally, is " king ". *Vahanse* is appended as an honorific with reference to the Buddha as well as to kings, dignitaries of the Church, and other great men to whom reverence is due.

[4] *Sam-budu* is equivalent to P. *Sam-Buddha.* Buddha is usually rendered into English as " Enlightened One" but, derived as the word is from the root *budh*, its etymological meaning is "the Awakened One". That the epithet was so understood by the Buddhists of old is clear from the *Adhyardha-śataka*, v. 137, where Mātṛceṭa extols the Buddha with the words *tvaṁ hi jāgarṣi suptānām,* "among those who are asleep, Thou dost keep awake " (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIII Supplement, p. 12).

[5] *Tilaka :* Lit., " the mark on the fore-head ".

visits [1] to the Island of Laṁkā,[2] had established the great *caitya* of **Miyuṅguṇu** [3] on the bank [4] of the (river) Mahaväli, which is exceedingly purifying, just as the Celestial Gaṅgā [5] is, and had been pleased to remove all (manner of) fear caused by the Yakṣas [6], Prince Vijaya came (to Laṁkā) [7] on the fifteenth (day) of the bright half of (the month of) Vesaga [8] in the eighth year of King Ajāsat [9] of Dambadiva, [10] and reigned, after having made a settlement of human beings [11] in the island of Laṁkā.

[Ll. 5–15] In the eighth (year) of the Sovereign Queen, **Abhāsalamevan Kalyāṇavatī**,[12] who has attained to the supreme position in Śrī-Laṁkā, in the succession of many kings of the Lesser Dynasty and the Great Dynasty [13] beginning with that Vijaya, the great host of Tamils descended on this Laṁkā, destroyed the minister named **Āti** and, unhampered [14] in all mountain fastnesses and forest fastnesses, swept over [15] the whole of Laṁkā in the manner of the world-consuming flames at the end of an aeon,[16] having destroyed the entire social structure and the religious organisation.[17]

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[1] *Tun-gamanak* : Lit., " three journeys ".

[2] For the three visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, see *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. 1.

[3] Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya. For the tradition connected with the foundation of this shrine, see *Mahāvaṁsa* Chap. 1, vv. 23–42.

[4] *Gaṁ-baḍa* : Lit., " in the vicinity of the river ".

[5] The river Ganges in India, which is believed by the Hindus to have been brought down to earth from Heaven by Bhagīratha.

[6] The Yakṣas in Ceylon writings are a class of superhuman beings devoted to the arts of music and dancing but, unfortunately, with a malevolent disposition towards men. The belief among the Ceylon Buddhists is that, in order to make this island safe for human beings, the *yakṣas* were dispelled by the Buddha, as narrated in Chap. 1, vv. 19–31 of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. But large numbers of *yakṣas* remained to be dealt with by Vijaya (*Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. 7, vv. 30–37) who, in his turn, has left not a few for the benefit of the practitioners of demonology.

[7] For the story of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon, see *Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. 7.

[8] Skt. *Vaiśākha*, April-May

[9] Skt. *Ajātaśatru*, P. *Ajātasattu*.

[10] Skt. *Jambudvīpa*, i.e., India.

[11] *Manuṣya-vāsa* : Lit., " abode of men ".

[12] *Abhā Salamevan Kalyāṇavatī svāmin vahanse* : The throne name Abhā-Salamevan, borne alternately by Sinhalese rulers from the fifth to the twelfth century, was also applicable to reigning queens (See *E. Z.* Vol. I, p. 179, Vol. IV, p. 256). The term *svāmin vahanse*, from its application in the present record as well as in the epigraphs at the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba (*E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 256) and Puliyankuḷama (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 179) at Anurādhapura, is shown to be without distinction of gender, just as the analogous modern term *hāmuduruvo* is found to be from its use with reference to women in such phrases as *valavuve hāmuduruvo*.

[13] *Suḷuvasa* (P.*Cūḷavaṁsa*) and *Mahavasa* (P. *Mahāvaṁsa*), which were originally the names of chronicles, have been extended in their use to refer to the kings dealt with in those respective chronicles, as if they were the names of dynasties. See Introduction to Geiger's edition of the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, part I, p. 1. The reference in this record can be taken as evidence for the existence of a chronicle named *Suḷuvasa* (*Cūḷavaṁsa*) in the Polonnaruva period.

[14] *No-pākilā*, lit., ' not reeling, tottering or stumbling '.

[15] *Pāḷambena.*

[16] *Yugat-gini.*

[17] *Lo-sasun*, same as P. *loka-sāsana*.

[Ll. 15–29] At that juncture,[1] the Generalissimo **Bhāma,** of great good fortune, who is like unto Uvindu[2] for Siri-kata[3], like unto Bamba[4] for Visi-kata,[5] like unto Hiru[6] for his well-known fiery energy, like unto Sisi[7] on account of his pleasing appearance,[8] and who is the ornament of the **Malevi** family, obtained victory in hundreds of battles in which there were unceasing masses of sparks of fire, engendered by the clash of weapons of Sinhalese soldiers who had eradicated[9] many a Māra-like soldier,[10] Tamil as well as Sinhalese, who had come to battle against him. (He thus) adorned the wide expanse of the earth with the blood drawn out[11] of the bodies of enemies as if it were with a thick cluster of red lotuses, and pleased the goddess of Heroic Splendour[12] with the play of the prowess of his arm. (In this manner), **Lord Bhāma,** the Generalissimo, the conqueror of enemies, eradicated the thorns[13] in the entire territory appertaining to him, pacified it,[14] and resided therein.

[Ll. 29–37] The **Miṇibe** channel, which was constructed of yore by the minister named **Mē-kit-nā,**[15] which is like unto a noble son given birth to by the queen named **Mahaväli-gaṁ** for the good of the world, which is, as it were, the main granary[16] for the Island of Laṁkā and which, from that time,[17] continued to function[18] until the twentieth year of Lord **Srī Parākrama-bāhu.** and . . . .[19] Kīrtti Vijayabāhu, Niśśaṁka, Erapatta, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī, Sāhasamalla (and) Kalyāṇavatī who, (one after the other), reigned after[20] fourteen years from that (date)[21].

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1 *Sanda* following *pälambena,* which has been translated by " swept over " in the previous section.

2 Skt. *Upendra,* i.e. Viṣṇu.

3 Skt. *Śrī-kāntā,* the goddess of Beauty and Prosperity.

4 Skt. *Brahmā,* the Creator god.

5 *Visi* is Skt. *Vāc ; kata* is Skt. *kāntā.* Sarasvatī, the goddess of Speech, is meant by this name.

6 Skt. *Sūryya,* i.e. the Sun.

7 Skt. *Śaśin,* i.e. the Moon.

8 *Somi-lesaṭa.*

9 *Puvū* is interpreted as the preterite of a verb corresponding to Skt. *pra-√vah,* through an earlier form *puvahu.* The absolutive of this verb, *puvahā,* occurs in v. 372 of the *Kavsiḷumiṇa.*

10 *Māra-bhaṭa,* may also be taken as " Māra's soldiers ".

11 *Ūra-gat.*

12 *Vīra-śrīya.*

13 *Niṣkanṭaka koṭa :* " Thorns " (*kanṭaka*) refer figuratively to factors which stand against the well-being of a state. Book IV of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāsatra* is entitled *kanṭaka-śodhana,* " removal of thorns ".

14 *Semehi tabā :* Lit., " having placed in peace ".

15 P. *Megha-kitti-nātha.*

16 *Mul-koṭasara.*

17 *E-tän :* Lit., " from that place ".

18 *Pävätä :* Lit., " having continued ".

19 The first few lines of side B, now lost for ever, should come here in the translation.

20 *Hanumbehi :* The exact etymology of this word has not been ascertained, but its meaning is clear enough from the context. Perhaps, *hanumbehi* is connected with Skt. *anupūrva,* P. *anupubba.*

21 *Obin* refers to the 20th year of Parākramabāhu.

No. 13. KAPĀRĀRĀMA SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF SAṀGHANANDIN

By S. Paranavitana

In 1894, H. C. P. Bell cleared the remains of a well laid-out group of monastic buildings to the north of the Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa at Anurādhapura and, in the course of this work, came across several fragments of a large stone slab engraved with Nāgarī characters of about the ninth century.[1] This inscription[2] has been deciphered and edited by D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe as No. 1 of the first volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica.* The first line of the slab begins in the middle of a word, and it is clear that the introductory part of the inscription had been engraved on a different slab. Search was made for this missing slab by Bell, but without success. From the nature of the preserved portion of this document, it can be inferred that its introductory portion would have contained historical information of considerable interest, perhaps including evidence with regard to the identity of the magnificent stone baths called Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa, in the conservation of which the Archaeological Department has been engaged during the last five years. I, therefore, decided to make further investigations by clearing away the heaps of spoil earth dumped in the course of Bell's excavations, and digging to the original ground level where this had not been done in the course of the work carried out six decades ago. I have had no more success than Bell in finding the missing slab of the Nāgarī inscription. Instead, however, within a week of starting this work on July 14, 1954, the epigraph which forms the subject of this paper was brought to light.

It is engraved on a slab measuring 4 ft. 6 in. by 10 in., and was found midway between the moonstone of the main building in the inner enclosure, close to which also was lying the Nāgarī slab which Bell discovered, and the gateway facing it to the west. The slab appears to have originally served some architectural purpose, and when it was selected for engraving this inscription, the portion covered by the writing, measuring 2 ft. 6 in. by 10 in., had been dressed anew. The lines of writing, of which there are sixteen, extend along the total breadth of the slab. The individual letters, ranging in height from ¾ in. to 1¾ in., are carefully and artistically engraved to a depth sufficient to impart clarity to them. The weathering of the stone

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[1] *A. S. C. A. R.* for 1894, p. 3.

[2] "Jetavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription", *E. Z.*, Vol. I, pp. 1–9.

has blurred the outlines of some letters towards the right side of the slab; but of these the identity can be ascertained by means of the traces left, or with the aid of the context. The first letter of each of the lines 1 to 3 has been damaged by the chipping away of a strip of the stone. This disfigurement hardly interferes with the deciphering of the writing.

The **script**, barring that of the last two lines, is South Indian Grantha, the forms resembling those in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra-Coḷa.[1] The Grantha portion contains two stanzas, the first a Sragdharā and the second a Śloka, in faultless Sanskrit, bearing witness to an ability of no mean order in the author of the record in handling an elabroate metre, and in the correct choice of words resulting in a dignified diction and a mellifluous assonance. The script of the last two lines is Sinhalese of the latter half of the tenth century, and is of the same type as that of the well-known tablets of Mahinda IV from Mihintale.[2]

The **object** of the record was to register the gift of two hundred *ṭaṅka* coins, by a church dignitary named Saṁghanandin, to provide drinkables to members of the *saṁgha* in the monsatic establishment called Kapārārāma. The **date** is the thirteenth year of a king who had the throne name of **Śrī-Saṁghabodhi** and, on the occasion of the gift, the donor was, in the words of the epigraph, "deserted because of the separation from the light on the full-moon night in the month of Nabhas". To be deprived of the light on a full-moon night, there must have been a lunar eclipse. A more direct statement of the fact of the lunar eclipse would not have been in accordance with the aim of the author of this document, who has clearly meant his composition to be poetry, the essential nature of which is *vakrokti*, "crooked or indirect statement". Thus we have in our record the only reference in Ceylon epigraphy to a lunar eclipse, and that, too, coupled with the regnal year of a king who, from the palaeographical evidence, must be placed in the second half of the tenth century. The date furnished by our epigraph is thus of significance for chronological purposes. We have to ascertain the date in the tenth century which was the thirteenth year of a king styled Śrīsaṁghabodhi, and on which there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Nabhas (Sinhalese Nikini, July-August) visible in Ceylon.

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[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, plate 13.

[2] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, plates 14 and 15.

The forms of the letters *ka* and *ra* in the two Sinhalese lines of the inscription have not been met with in any record belonging to the reign of Kassapa IV[1] or of earlier date. Kassapa IV's date is approximately fixed by South Indian synchronisms relating to the reign of his successor, Kassapa V, to fall within the first two decades of the tenth century.[2] Kassapa V had the throne name of Abhā Salamevam and not Sirisaṅgabo (Śrī Saṁghabodhi) as did the king in whose thirteenth year our record is dated. Any lunar eclipse in July-August that was entirely or partly visible in Ceylon during the first quarter of the tenth century may, therefore, be excluded on palaeographical and historical grounds.

According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, lunar eclipses in the month of Nabhas occurred on the following dates between 925 and 1000 A.D.

Monday, 4th August, 928.
Friday, 24th July, 929.
Tuesday, 13th July, 930.
Wednesday, 4th August, 947.
Sunday, 23rd July, 948.
Friday, 3rd August, 966.
Friday, 14th July, 976.
Monday, 3rd August, 985.
Wednesday, 25th July, 994.
Sunday, 14th July, 995.

Dr. D. T. E. Dassanayaka, Director of the Department of Meteorology, at my request, made inquiries from the Superintendent, H. M. Nautical Almanac Office, Greenwich Observatory, and that authority has kindly furnished information with regard to the visibility of these eclipses in Ceylon. The lunar eclipses in July-August of 928, 929, 966, 976, 985 and 994 were not visible in Ceylon. Those of 947 and 948 were visible, but there are other facts ruling both of them out of consideration as the lunar eclipse recorded in our epigraph. The reference, in an inscription of the 40th year of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I, to that monarch's invasion of Ceylon, must be the same as that recorded in the Ceylon chronicle as having taken place in the reign of Udaya IV. The 40th year of Parāntaka was 947 A.D., on which date Udaya IV must have been reigning in Ceylon. Udaya IV was a

[1] See *E. Z.*, Vol. I, plate 26, Vol. II, plates 1, 3, and 8.
[2] See above, p.106.

Sirisaṅgabo, but his reign did not extend to thirteen years. In the period of nearly a decade after 947, and three decades before that date, there was no king of Ceylon who was a Sirisaṅgabo and enjoyed a reign extending to thirteen years. Of the eclipse on July 13, 930, the extreme end was visible low in the east, but, working backwards from the date furnished by the South Indian synchronism referred to above, that would fall in the reign of Dappula IV, who was an Abhā Salamevan, and not a Sirisaṇgabo.

Thus, the only lunar eclipse left for consideration is that which took place on Sunday, July 14, 995, and of which the beginning was visible in Ceylon, though the Moon would have been low in the west throughout the eclipse. The date falls within the reign of Mahinda V who, according to the order of succession, was entitled to the throne name of Sirisaṅgabo (Śrī-Saṁghabodhi), and reigned, though not actually ruled, for 48 years. According to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Mahinda V, together with his queen and the Sinhalese regalia, fell into the hands of the Coḷa invaders in the 36th year of his reign. From references to this event in the Coḷa inscriptions, Hultzsch has concluded that it took place in 1017 A.D. The 36th year is given in the chronicle as current when the king was captured; so was the 13th year in this record when the lunar eclipse took place on the 14th of July. How far the 13th year had run its course on July 14, 995, we have no means of deciding exactly. The twelfth year must have expired some time after July 14, 994; the thirty-fifth year, accordingly, would have been completed some time after July 14, 1017, and the 36th year of the reign could have been current during the last five months of 1017. The chronological data with regard to the reign of Mahinda V gathered from South Indian inscriptions are thus in agreement with the conclusion that the lunar eclipse referred to in our epigraph took place in the 13th year of Mahinda V. Calculating backwards from 1017, the 36th year of Mahinda V thus ascertained, Geiger and Wickremasinghe have concluded that this monarch's reign began in 981. The 36th year of that king would have included a part of the year 1017, even if Mahinda V came to the throne sometime after July 14, 982. As it can be deduced from our record that this monarch's 13th year was current on the full moon day of Nikini in 995, we have to conclude that he came to the throne in 982, some time after the Nikini full moon of that year, which was on the 7th August.

If this inscription is of the reign of Mahinda V, the word *vināthа*, used in the stanza to describe the effect produced on Saṁghanandin by the eclipse, gains in significance. *Nātha* means "lord, sovereign, or master",

and the prefix *vi* means "without": To say that one was without a master by the loss of the light on a full moon day, if taken in its literal meaning, would not be appropriate. On the other hand, the use of the particular word *vināthа*, "without the sovereign", would be an allusion to the plight in which Saṁghanandin, in common with other loyal subjects of the king at Anurādhapura, had been at the time the eclipse occurred. As narrated in the chronicle, there was a mutiny of the king's foreign mercenaries in the tenth year of his reign, and Mahinda V was forced to leave his capital and fix up his abode in Rohaṇa. Saṁghanandin and others loyal to Mahinda V were thus really *vinātha* at the time this inscription was set up. The king might figuratively have been referred to as the light (*arci*), and the moon being gradually diverted of its lustre might have evoked in the mind of the poet, or of the prelate at whose behest our stanza was composed, the picture of the king who was under a similar eclipse. It would have been risky, when the capital was under the control of the king's enemies, to express one's sympathy with his plight, but an indirect allusion to it in this manner would not have attracted notice; if it became a subject of comment, it could have been explained as a mere reference to the lunar eclipse. On the other hand, if the king regained power and returned to the capital, a poetical allusion like this could have been presented to him as an expression of loyalty to him during the period of his adversity. The reference to the 13th year as "the tenth year with three added" may also be not without significance. It is, of course, possible to explain the expression as dictated by metrical necessity, but the author of our epigraph had a sufficient command of the Sanskrit language to satisfy the metrical scheme in other ways, had he desired to avoid such a method of enumerating the year. The tenth year, which has received emphasis, was memorable for the reason that it witnessed Mahinda V's flight from Anurādhapura.

The donor, **Saṁghanandi-sthavira,** is not known from other sources. He cannot be the same as the cleric Saṁghanandin, at whose behest the flight of steps leading to the image-house at Pankuliya in Anurādhapura was constructed, for the script of the epigraph of Saṁghanandin at Pankuliya,[1] inscribed on one of the steps, is of an earlier stage of development than that of our record.

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[1] *A. S. C. Seventh Progr ess Report*, p. 68.

As it is reasonable to assume that the present inscription was found at, or close to, the place where it was set up originally, the statement "here, in the Kapārārāma" contained therein can legitimately be taken as evidence establishing the identity of the site as that of the **Kapārārāma.** The slab-inscription of Kassapa V found near the "stone canopy" in the so-called Jetavanārāma area (really the Abhayagiri area) at Anurādhapura records that the foundation of the shrine of Salameyvan-pavu for the Kapārā fraternity (*muḷa*) at the Abhaygairi-vihāra was one of the religious benefactions of that monarch.[1] In the monastic regulations embodied in that edict, provision is made for the maintenance of those who had received lodgings at the Mahā-Kapārā-pirivena.[2] The slab-inscription of Udā Mahayā, of the twelfth year of Dappula IV (*circa* 924–935), from Puliyankuḷama near Anurādhapura,[3] also mentions Kapārā-muḷa. But the relations that existed between that institution, the monastery of Puvaram-vehera and the shrine of Udā-Kitag-bo-pava, where the epigraph of Udā Mahayā was set up, have not been clearly understood. The *Daḷadā-sirita*[4] and the *Pūjāvalī*[5] mention Kapārā-pirivena as a foundation of Dāṭhopatissa II (*circa* 659–667); the former credits Kassapa IV (898–914) with the establishment of the Kuḍā (i.e. Lesser) Kapārā-pirivena for the Kapārā fraternity. The *Pūjāvalī*,[6] on the other hand, lists the *pirivenas* of Mahā (Greater) as well as Kuḍā (Lesser) Kapārā as foundations of Kassapa IV. The name *Kapārā* assumes the form of *Kappūra* in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. Agreeing with the *Daḷadā Sirita* and the *Pūjāvalī*, this chronicle records that Dāṭhopatissa II founded the Kappūra-pariveṇa in the monastery of Abhayuttara (i.e. Abhayagiri).[7] Aggabodhi IV (*circa* 667–683), the successor of Dāṭhopatissa, built a *pāsāda* at the Kappūra-pariveṇa,[8] and Sena I (833–853) established certain adjuncts called *pariccheda* at that institution.[9] In later times, princess Yasodharā, the daughter of Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110), founded a beautiful image-house in the Kappūramūla establishment.[10] It is not certain whether this last was at Anurādhapura or at Polonnaruva.

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 52.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 57.
[3] *Ibid*. pp. 187–190.
[4] Bhadanta Sorata's edition, Colombo, 1950, p. 42.
[5] Chapter 34, edited by Mābōpiṭiye Medhaṁkara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 20.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 21.
[7] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 45, v. 29.
[8] *Ibid*, Chap. 46, v. 21.
[9] *Ibid*, Chap. 50, v. 77.
[10] *Ibid*, Chap. 60, v. 83.

With the emergence of the latter city as the capital, the monastic orders that flourished in the earlier capital might have been established at the new centre of political and social life.

When the community was meant, the word *muḷa,* meaning "herd", which has been wrongly rendered into Pali as *mūla,* was added to *Kapārā.* When the emphasis was on the cloisters, the word *pirivena* (P. *pariveṇa*) formed the second member of the compound. The word *ārāma* in place of *parivena,* as in our record, would have signified the entire establishment, together with the shrines, monastic residences and the parks attached to them.

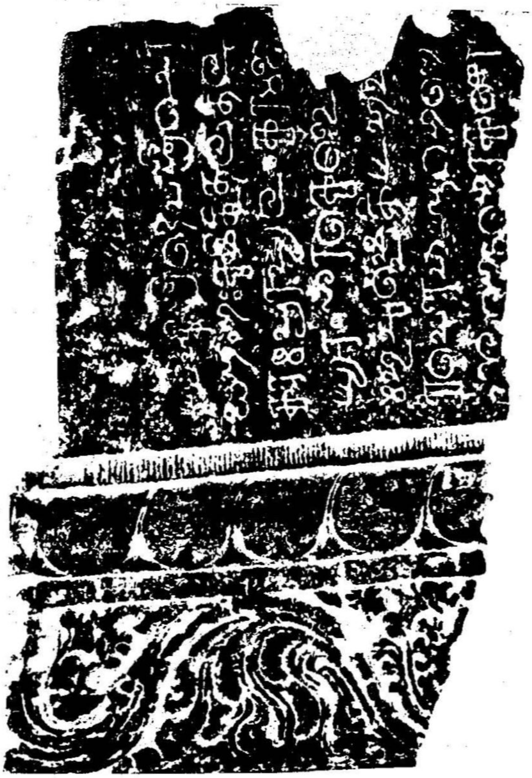
The references in the inscriptions and the chronicles indicate that the Kapārā-muḷa or -pirivena or -ārāma was one of the main establishments of the Abhayagiri Vihāra, and played an important part in the religious life of this Island from about the seventh to the eleventh century. The fraternity had two *pirivenas ;* and we are unable to decide whether the group of buildings at which the present inscription came to light represents the Mahā or the Kuḍā Kapārā Pirivena. The well-defined group of buildings, enclosed by a boundary wall, of which the main feature is the Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa, situated immediately to the south of the enclosure within which our record was found, may, with a considerable degree of plausibility, be identified as one of the two Kapārā-Pirivenas. The present inscription furnishes us with yet another proof for the view that the Dāgāba and the adjoining buildings, now popularly known as Jetavana, belonged in actual fact to the Abhayagiri Vihāra.

TEXT

1 Śrīḥ [|*] Abde Śrī-Saṁgha-bo [dhe]-
2 **-s**=tri-sahita-daśame varttamā-
3 -ne Nabho=mā=rākāyāṁ **Sa[ṁ]-**
4 **-ghanandi**-sthavira-munivaro=[rc]ce-
5 -ḥ viyogād=vināthaḥ [|*]A-
6 -tr=ārāme **Kapā**[**re**][1] sakala-ja-
7 -na-pipās=āpahār=ai-
8 -ka-karmmā pānīyā=rthaṁ sa
9 ṭaṁka-dvi-śatakam=adadād=ā-

[1] The identity of this syllable is made certain by the right hand vertical stroke which is almost intact. Extraneous lines, caused by the weathering of the stone, have obscured the symbol for the medial e.

Fragmentary Inscription from Trincomalee

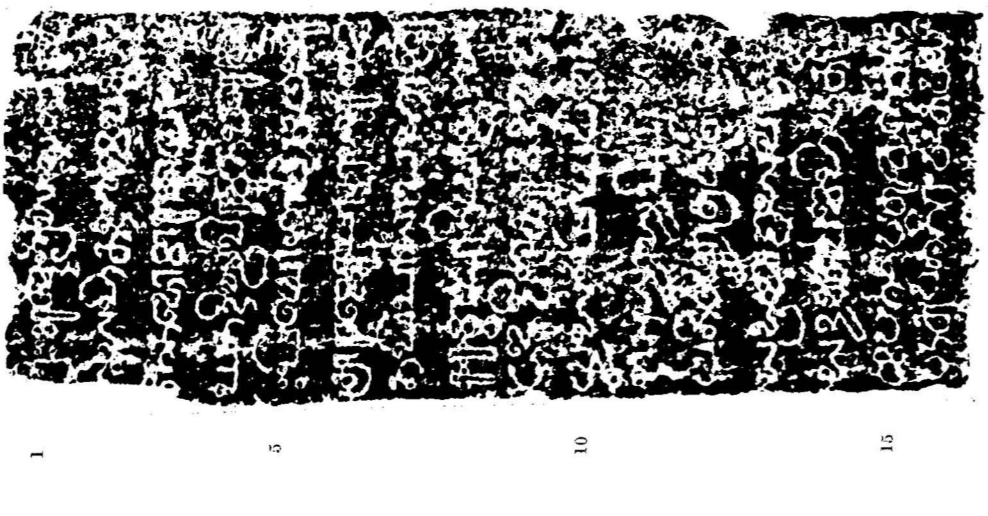


Scale 1½ inches to 1 foot

Tiriyāy Sanskrit Inscription

Scale 13/16 inch to 1 foot

Kapārārāma Inscription



Scale 2 9/16 inches to 1 foot

10 -ryya-saṁghāya dhīmān [||*]
11 Dānasy=āsya vighātā[ya]
12 yatir=yyo=tra yati[ṣ]yate [|*]
13 Sa bhūyād=vāsa-lābhā=[rt]thā-
14 -[t]=sadya[s=sa]rva-bahiṣ=krta[ḥ ||*]
15 Me pin nävätū kenek De-
16 -vdatu van nirā vaditvayi [|*]

TRANSLATION

Prosperity ! While the thirteenth year of **Śrī-Saṁghabodhi** was current, the venerable Senior Monk[1] **Saṁghanandin,** being deserted because of the separation from the light [2] on the night of the full Moon in the month of Nabhas[3]—that wise one, whose sole business was the quenching of the thirst of all persons[4]—gave two hundred *ṭaṅkas*[5] for the purpose of providing drinkables [6] to the community of noble ones in the pleasance of **Kapārā** here.

Should any monk here attempt to impede this charity, he shall at once be deprived of all (benefits, namely) residence, incomes and welfare.[7]

Should there be any who have caused the cessation of this charity, may they enter that same hell into which entered Devadatta. [8]

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[1] *Sthavira-muni-varo :* The word *Sthavira* and its Sinhalese equivalent *tera* were not merely courtesy titles in the tenth century, as they are today ; but were used to signify an ecclesiastical office. The *Daḷadā-sirita* (Bhadanta Sorata's edition, p. 45 and the *Pūjāvali* (34th chapter), *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 37), inform us that the offices of *tera* as well as *mātera, ayatān,* &c. were formally conferred on members of the *saṅgha* by the king. The holder of the title of *tera* in a monastic establishment of mediaeval Ceylon must have had a status similar to that of an abbot of a monastery in Europe during the same period.

[2] *Arcceḥ viyogād vināthaḥ* :—See remarks on p. 165 f.

[3] *Nabho₌mā=rākāyāṁ* :—These three words have been taken as a compound. *Nabhas* is *Nikini* in Sinhalese, the lunar month July-August.

[4] We have to understand the metaphorical, and not the physical, thirst. *Taṇhā* (Skt. *tṛṣṇā*), " desire" or " craving ", is often referred to as an unquenchable thirst in Buddhist texts, and from this everyone is suffering. To quench this metaphorical thirst is to make one realise Nirvāṇa. In stating that Saṁghanandin's sole business was to quench this metaphorical thirst of every individual, it has been suggested that he was a Bodhisattva.

[5] For *ṭaṅka*, see Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, pp. 1–5.

[6] For the various kinds of drinkables allowed to the members of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, see *Vinaya Texts*, translated by Ryhs Davids and Oldenberg, part II. (S. B. E., Vol. XVII), pp. 132–133.

[7] *Vāsa-lābhārthāt* :—The benefits enjoyed by a member of the *saṅgha* by belonging to a fraternity like the Kapārā-muḷa seem to have been classified under these three heads of *vāsa*, *lābha* and *artha*. *Vāsa* means " lodgings ", with which every member of the fraternity was provided. Rules with regard to lodgings in a monastic institution of mediaeval Anuradhapura will be found in the " Jetavanārāma" Sanskrit inscription, ll. 10–19 (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 7). *Lābha* is the stipend to which an inmate of a *vihāra* was entitled. For details of such stipends, see Mihintale tablets, ll. 12 ff. (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 100). The expression *lābha-laddavun*, ' stipendiaries ', occurs in the " Jetavanārāma " slab-inscription of Kassapa V (*E. Z.*, Vol. I, p. 48). The medical attention that a monk received when he was sick, the intellectual and spiritual benefits he derived by partaking in the life of the community, would have been included under *artha*.

[8] For the story of Devadatta and his misdeeds which took him to hell, see E. W. Burlingame. *Buddhist Legends*, Pert I, pp. 230–242.

No. 14. FRAGMENTARY SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM TRINCOMALEE

BY S. PARANAVITANA

IN 1945, the military authorities excavating within Fort Frederick at Trincomalee unearthed two stone images—one of Viṣṇu and the other of Lakṣmī—and a fragment of a stone door-jamb. The discovery created a considerable amount of interest among the local Hindus and, as a concession to popular sentiment, the objects have been kept in the premises of the Kacceri, until suitable accommodation becomes available for them in an institute devoted to culture in that sea-port town. The images, on grounds of style, can be ascribed to about the twelfth century; artistically, they are not of great merit. The fragment of the door-jamb is 1 ft. 6 in. in height. Its front face is decorated with a foliage pattern and lotus-petal design, and its side face bore an inscription of which seven lines are preserved.[1] The average length of each line is 1 ft. 6 in. The chipping away of the edge has obliterated the last letters of lines 4 and 5; the fracture has damaged the lower parts of the first three letters of the seventh line. The weathering has also affected a letter here and there.

The **letters,** boldly engraved, range in height from ½ in. to 1½ in. The **script** is Grantha; the forms generally resemble the corresponding ones in the Raṅganātha inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.[2] The seven lines of the record now preserved comprise the first two lines of a stanza in the Sragdharā metre composed in grammatical **Sanskrit,** and the first word of the third line.

Its fragmentary nature does not permit us to come to any conclusion with regard to its **purport.** The preserved portion mentions the **date** on which a prince named **Coḍagaṁga-deva** landed in Ceylon. The year in the Śaka era is enumerated by a chronogram of which the first syllable is lost. The three legible syllables read *mbhu-puṣpe.* It is a rule that the syllables constituting a chronogram should form a word or a compound with a plausible meaning, and the only syllable that can be restored before *mbhu,* so as to satisfy this requirement, is *śa.* Reading the chronogram, therefore, as *Śambhu-puṣpe,* we get 1145 as **the year in the Śaka era** given in our document. As the chronogram has to be deciphered from the end, its first syllable stands for the last digit in the numerical notation; it is, therefore, a unitary digit. Even if our restoration of the missing syllable is found to be untenable, the

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[1] *A. S. C., Annual Report for 1946,* p. 17.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III, plate facing p. 14.

maximum possible error in the date is five years. In addition to the Śaka year, our record states that, on the day of Coḍagaṁga-deva's arrival in this Island, the Sun was in the Zodiacal sign of Aries, and that the constellation was Hasta. The *lagna* prevailing at the time of this event was Aries. According to these details, Coḍagaṁga-deva landed in Ceylon early morning on Friday, the 14th of April, 1223 A.D.

The prince whose arrival in Ceylon is recorded in this epigraph does not find mention in the historical writings of the Island. He could not have been Coḍagaṁga, a nephew of Niśśaṁka Malla, who ruled at Polonnaruva for nine months, and was put out of the way by General Kitti in 1197,[1] for our epigraph is a quarter of a century later in date. It is also difficult to identify the hero of our record with Coḍagaṁga-deva, one of the Tamil foes who came from the opposite coast, and was vanquished by Bhuvanekabāhu I, for the latter ascended the throne in or about 1272, and it is very unlikely, though not impossible, that a prince who appeared on the scene of Laṁkā in 1123, most probably at the head of a military expedition, could have been alive fifty years later. Moreover, the narrative in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* gives the impression that the Coḍagaṁga-deva who figures in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I[2] arrived from the opposite coast not long before he was vanquished in battle by the Sinhalese champion. So far as our knowledge goes at present, there is also no evidence to identify the Coḍagaṁga-deva of our record with a prince of that name figuring in Indian epigraphs.

The date given in the record falls within the period during which Māgha the Kāliṅgan held the northern half of Ceylon under his tyrannical yoke. Whether Coḍagaṁga-deva came to Ceylon as an enemy, or an ally of Māgha, and whether he was successful in establishing his authority over the regions round Trincomalee, are questions on which we can only speculate. The fact that he has left an inscription indicates that he held the port of Trincomalee for some time at least; and, in order to celebrate his success, made a grant to the shrine on the door-frame of which the present record was indited, and which would have been destroyed when the regions passed under the sway of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.

It is reasonable to assume that this fragment of the inscribed door-jamb was found on the site of the shrine of which it formed a part. It is equally reasonable to infer that the place-name in the record—Gokarṇṇa—

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[1] *Cūḷavaṁsa* Chap. 80, v. 29.

[2] *Ibid*, Chap. 90, v. 32.

was the name, in the thirteenth century, of modern Trincomalee, where this shrine was located. The references to Gokarṇṇa (the Pali form is Gokaṇṇa) in the chronicles of Ceylon point to Trincomalee. We are told in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, (chap. 37, vv. 40–41) that, in a number of places, including Gokaṇṇa, Mahāsena demolished shrines of gods and had Buddhist monasteries established instead. The commentator states that Gokaṇṇaka-vihāra was on the eastern coast, and was close to the village of the same name.[1] This authority also informs us that Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the second king of Ceylon, and his retinue, after landing at the mouth of the Mahākandara river, went to Gokaṇṇa-tittha on their way to Upatissagāma.[2] Gokaṇṇa was, therefore, a sea-port. It is not certain whether Goṇa-paṭṭana, where the Śākya princess who was to be the Queen of Paṇḍuvāsudeva landed, is the same as Gokaṇṇa-tittha. The sea-coast and the river bank near Gokaṇṇa are mentioned in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* as the scene of magical rites which gained for Mahānāga (*circa* 569–571) and Mānavamma (*circa* 684–718), respectively, the throne of Ceylon.[3] From these accounts, it also appears that Gokaṇṇa was a centre of the cult of Skanda-kumāra. Mānavamma's son, Aggabodhi V, constructed a *padhāna-ghara* for the monastery at Gokaṇṇa.[4] Parākramabāhu I, after gaining the mastery of Rājaraṭṭha, is said to have stationed military forces from Gokaṇṇa to Sarogāma-tittha (Vilgamuva), in order to prevent any invasion of his territories by the Rohaṇa armies.[5] The etymological equivalent in Sinhalese of Gokaṇṇa is Gōṇa, and the sea-port or district of Gōṇa figures in the wars which Parākramabāhu II waged to wrest the Rājaraṭṭha from Māgha.[6] *Gōṇa* is the main element in the Tamil *Tiruk-koṇa-malai*, which has been Anglicised as Trincomalee. *Tiru* means "sacred" and *malai* "hill", the name thus meaning "the sacred hill of Koṇa", which last results from the transliteration into Tamil characters of the Sinhalese *Gōṇa*.

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[1] *Gokaṇṇa-vihāraṁ puratthima-samudda-tīre kārāpesi. Gokaṇṇagāmassa samīpe Gokaṇṇa-vihāraṁ Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, P. T. S. Edition, Vol. II, p. 685.

[2] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, Vol. I, p. 269.

[3] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Chap. 41, v. 79 and Chap. 57, v. 5.

[4] *Ibid*, Chap. 48, v. 5.

[5] *Ibid*, Chap. 71, v. 18.

[6] See *Pūjāvalī*, 34th chapter, edited by Mābōpiṭiye Medhaṁkara Thera, p. 31. f. *Cūḷavaṁsa*, chap. 83, v. 17 and Codrington in *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 93–94. Codrington takes the Gōṇa country and the Gōṇa Dabarapaṭan mentioned in these references to be the territory to the north of the Gōṇa river i.e. Kalā Oya.

Gokarṇa is also the name of a place of pilgrimage in Malabar sacred to Śiva. The God Śiva-Gokarṇeśvara of Mahendra hill was the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gaṁgas, among whom the name Coḍa-gaṁga was in favour.[1] Trincomalee, in ancient times, must have been the port of call of vessels coming from the eastern coast of India, and its population must have included a large number of foreigners of non-Buddhist faith, whose shrines were flourishing there before the date of the *Mahāvaṁsa,* and probably before Mahāsena also. The Śaiva shrine which flourished there in the seventh century was famous enough to be the subject of a sacred hymn by the Śaiva Saint, Tirujñāna-Sambandar, included in the collection known as the *Tēvāram.* Though the persecuting tendency of Mahāsena caused the temporary eclipse of these non-Buddhist shrines of Gokaṇṇa (Trincomalee), and a Buddhist monastery competed with the Brahmanical institutions for the allegiance of the people, Buddhism has had to retire from this sea-port in favour of the rival faith which, in spite of the fanatical fury of the Portuguese conquistadores, has held its own there up to our own day.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī [|*] Devaś=Śrī-**Co-**
2 **-ḍa-gaṁgaḥ** kṣiti-tala-tila-
3 -kām=prāpya Laṁkām=aja-
4 -yyāṁ Śāke=b[d]e (Śa)-
5 -mbhu- puṣpe kriya-bhavana-
6 Ravau Hasta-bhe Me-
7 -[ṣa]-lagne [|*] **Gokarṇne**

* * * * * *

TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year Śambhu-puṣpa (i.e. One Thousand **One** Hundred and Forty-five) of the Śaka era, when the Sun was in the mansion of Aries, Hasta being the constellation (in conjunction with the Moon), and the point of the ecliptic at the horizon (*lagna*) being Aries, the illustrious **Coḍagaṁga-deva,** having arrived in the unconquerable Laṁkā, the forehead ornament of Earth . . . . at **Gokarṇṇa.**[2] . . . .

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[1] See for example R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I pp. 227 and 247 ff.

[2] It is possible that the last three syllables of line 7, together with the first two of the next line, now lost, read *Gokarṇṇeśāya,* "to the Lord Śiva of Gokarṇṇa". This does not affect the position that "Gokarṇṇa" was the name of the place where the inscription was set up.

No. 15. TIRIYĀY SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF AGGABODHI VI

BY S. PARANAVITANA

THIS inscription is engraved close to the ground on a boulder flanking the dilapidated flight of steps leading to the Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāy, to the left as one ascends the hill. The boulder, which is about half-way up the ascent to the hill top, is situated about 225 ft. to the east of the rock on which is inscribed the long Sanskrit inscription at this site, already published. [1] The greater part of the writing was buried under an accumulation of earth ; the letters which were not so concealed from view were covered with a thick growth of moss. The inscription thus eluded the notice of the officers who visited the site on several occasions in and after 1930, and those who passed and re-passed the place daily after the excavation and conservation of the Vaṭaḍāgē was started in August, 1951, until it was discovered in 1953 by Mr. H. Gunaratna, the Overseer in charge of the work, after a shower of rain had made the moss which covered the writing to peel away.

The record consists of two lines of writing, the first 3 ft. 7 in. and the second 3 ft. 11 in. in length. The letters are well-formed and clearly engraved ; in height, they range from 1½ in. to 8½ in. The **script** is identical with that of the longer inscription already referred to. The language is Sanskrit prose. Before I discuss the contents, I give the text and translation of the record.

TEXT

1. Si[ṁ]ghaḷendra [2] **Śilāmegha [3]-mahārājasya**
2. trayovi[ṁ]śatime varṣe rājye likhitam

TRANSLATION

Written in the twenty-third year [and] in the reign[4] of **the great king Śilāmegha,** the lord of Siṁhaḷa.

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[1] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and 312–319.

[2] Read *Siṁhalendra*. This form with *gha* for *ha* and the lingual, instead of the dental *l*, occurs also in the longer inscription.

[3] The first syllable of this word, as it appears on the stone, reads *Śśi*. It is possible that the engraver at first wrote the lower *śa* and, finding that the line was not straight, restored the correct alignment by writing *śi* over it.

[4] The insertion of *rājye*, " in the reign ", after enumerating the regnal year, was perhaps due to the practice of reckoning dates from the *abhiṣeka* of a notable ruler, even after he had ceased to reign.

The identity of the king referred to in this record can be established without much difficulty. *Śilāmegha* (Sinhalese *Salamevan*) was a title that was borne, alternately with Sirisaṅgabo (Skt. Śrī Saṁghabodhi), by the kings of the later Anurādhapura and the Polonnaruva periods. From the beginning of the seventh century up to the end of the eighth—the utmost limits within which this document is datable on palaeographical grounds—there were only two rulers who enjoyed reigns exceeding 23 years, namely Aggabodhi VI (*circa* 733–772) and Mānavamma (*circa* 684–718). Of these two kings, Aggabodhi VI is referred to as Śilāmegha in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* [1]. We know from inscriptions that Sena II, the tenth in succession from Aggabodhi VI, was a Sirisaṅgabo[2]. Aggabodhi VI should, therefore, have been a Salamevan according to the order of succession. With regard to Mānavamma, there is no reference to him either as a Sirisaṅgabo or as a Salamevan in the literary sources. No inscription mentioning him has yet been discovered. According to the order of succession, however, he should have been a Srisaṅgabo. Of the three rulers who came between Mānavamma and Aggabodhi VI, Mahinda I exercised authority without assuming regal dignities. [3]

In discussing the chronology of this period, we have (above, p. 103) referred to the envoys of this king who arrived at the Chinese Court in 742 and 746. Amoghavajra, who went to China as Aggabodhi VI's emissary in 746, was a Mahāyāna teacher of great repute. Amoghavajra's teacher, Vajrabodhi, who had been received with honour at the Pallava court, also visited Ceylon.[4] The visits of these Mahāyāna doctors, perhaps, are not without significance for the presence, on the eastern sea-board of Ceylon, of Sanskrit inscriptions in a script resembling that used in the Pallava country. In the long inscription from Tiriyāy, there is mention of Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas, and the epigraph embodying the Trikāyastava at Mihintale [5] is in a script almost identical with that of these Sanskrit inscriptions at the former place. If these Mahāyānistic documents are not due to Vajrabodhi or Amoghavajra, they must have been set up by Sinhalese monks who came under the influence of these noted propagandists of the Mahāyāna creed. The date of the present record is ten years after that on which the Chinese

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[1] Chap. 48, v. 42.

[2] See *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 177.

[3] *Cūḷavaṁsa*, Chap. 48, vv. 26–31.

[4] *J. R. A. S., C. B.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 87–89.

[5] *E. Z.*, Vol. IV, pp. 242–246, plate 24.

emperor received Amoghavajra as the envoy of Aggabodhi VI. It is reasonable to assume that he returned to Ceylon after this mission, and continued to receive royal favour.

Our record does not specifically state what was written in the 23rd year of Śilāmegha. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the long Sanskrit inscription does not bear a date, and that there is no reference to a king by name, though it is stated therein that the shrine at Tiriyāy received the worship of the Lord of Siṁhala (*Siṁghaḷendra*), the last expression being also found in the present record. We may conjecture that this circumstance was noted, perhaps by a courtier, and the omission was made good by having these two lines of writing engraved on a boulder which was more likely to be noticed by the pilgrim than was the rock on which the main inscription was indited. The question might be raised why these two lines of writing were not indited on the same rock as the main inscription. It was not due to lack of space on that rock. Perhaps a path led from the boulder containing these two lines of writing to the rock with the main inscription, and this short record might have served the purpose of attracting the pilgrim's attention to the other, which was some distance away from the flight of steps. At any rate, there is little doubt that the two records were engraved by the same hand, and that the date furnished by the present epigraph is that of the main inscription as well. We were, therefore, approximately correct in fixing the date of that record, on the palaeographical evidence, as the closing decades of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth. In actual fact, the inscriptions belong to the middle of the eighth century.

The ascertainment of the date of the Tiriyāy inscription enables one to compare its script, with greater precision than has hitherto been possible, with that of the Pallava documents of the period. At the time these inscriptions were set up, Nandivarman Pallavamalla (733–795) was reigning at Kāñcī. The letters on the rocks at Tiriyāy, however, are generally of a slightly earlier stage of evolution than the corresponding types in the Kaśākkuḍi[1] and Udayendiram[2] Plates of Nandivarman, which are respectively of the twenty-second and twenty-first years of that monarch's reign, and are, therefore, almost contemporary with the records at Tiriyāy.

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[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, plates XIII-XIV.

[2] *Ibid*, Plate XVI.

CONTENTS

		PAGES
1.	Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I	1–27
2.	Murutava Rock-Inscription	27–29
3.	Kuḍā-Raṭmalē Rock-Inscription	30–34
4.	Interpretation of Vaharala	35–65
5.	Rock-Inscription of Dāṭhopatissa near Dakkhiṇa-Thūpa, Anurādhapura	65–72
6.	Kandakāḍu Rock-Inscription of Upatissa II	73–80
7.	Ṭāṁgoḍa Vihāra Pillar-Inscription of Sirimegha	80–111
8.	Hiňguregala Rock-Inscription	111–119
9.	Viraňdagoḍa Pillar-Inscription	119–124
10.	Koṇḍavaṭṭavan Pillar-Inscription of Dappula IV	124–141
11.	Kaṭagamuva Slab-Inscription of Mānābharaṇa	142–146
12.	Miṇipe Slab-Inscription	146–161
13.	Kapārārāma Sanskrit Inscription of Saṁghanandin	162–169
14.	Fragmentary Sanskrit Inscription from Trincomalee	170–173
15.	Tiriyāy Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Aggabodhi VI	174–176

LIST OF PLATES

Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I. Plate No. 1	facing page 20
Murutava Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 2	,, ,, 28
Kuḍā-Ratmalē Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 2	,, ,, 28
Rock-Inscription of Dāṭhopatissa near Dakkhiṇa-Thūpa, Anurādhapura. Plate No. 3	,, ,, 69
Kandakāḍu Rock-Inscription of Upatissa III. Plate No. 3	,, ,, 69
Ṭāṁgoḍa Vihāra Pillar-Inscription of Sirimegha. Plate No. 3	,, ,, 69
Hiňguregala Rock-Inscription. Plate No. 4	,, ,, 115
Viraňdagoḍa Pillar-Inscription. Plate No. 4	,, ,, 115
Koṇḍavaṭṭavan Pillar-Inscription of Dappula IV. Plate No. 5	,, ,, 135
Kaṭagamuva Slab-Inscription of Mānābharaṇa. Plate No. 6	,, ,, 145
Miṇipe Slab-Inscription. Plate No. 6	,, ,, 145
Kapārārāma Sanskrit Inscription of Saṁghanandin. Plate No. 7	,, ,, 168
Fragmentary Sanskrit Inscription from Trincomalee. Plate No. 7	,, ,, 168
Tiriyāy Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Aggabodhi VI. Plate No. 7	,, ,, 168